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THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

NAG HAMMADI CODEX V,5

CONSIDERED FROM ITS EGYPTIAN BACKGROUND

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Divinus autem cultus consistit
vel in recipiendo aliqua divina
vel in tradendo aliis.

(Summa Theologiae, Tertia Pars q. 63 a.2)

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM NAG HAMMADI CODEX V,5 CONSIDERED FROM ITS EGYPTIAN BACKGROUND

av
Per-Arne Linder

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This thesis is a consideration of the Egyptian background of the Apocalypse of Adam, Nag Hammadi Codex V,5. Part I contains a presentation of the text: A new edition with all meaningful reconstructions which are highly probable, all signs as various super-linear strokes, the nomina sacra-lines and the peculiar ⁻ -signs, and finally all different punctuations and a new translation of the text which elucidates some obscure sections. Finally the presentation of the text contains a section with the most important words which pose some new questions, such as if the text can be considered as a baptismal text in a cultic context. Part II is a metrical analysis of the hymnic section in ApocAd. The analysis shows that the hymn was sung in its Coptic version which confirms the cultic context of the text. Part III contains some more remarks on the hymnic section but first of all a consideration of the conclusion of the apocalypse. This consideration together with the analysis of the hymnic section poses the question if the Sitz im Leben of ApocAd or the way in which ApocAd was illuminating actually was ritual, if the Sitz im Leben of ApocAd is to be understood in the Egyptian tradition which is dramatic and ritual. Part IV finally is a comparative research of ApocAd and some ancient Egyptian texts. This comparative research shows that the structure of ApocAd is very similar to ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. It is consequently possible that ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic baptismal cultic drama and it is unlikely that the purpose of the Coptic ApocAd only was to illuminate the reader through reading the text. ApocAd seems to be a traditional Egyptian ritual text. These considerations make the text comprehensible in its Egyptian milieu. This Egyptian mode of comprehending the text is presented in the conclusion.

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ABSTRACT

The Apocalypse of Adam

Nag Hammadi Codex V,5

Considered from its Egyptian background

Per-Arne Linder

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This thesis contains a critical edition, English translation and an analysis of the Egyptian background of The Apocalypse of Adam (Nag Hammadi Codex V,5) based upon Nag Hammadi Codices, The Facsimile Edition of Codex V by James M. Robinson.

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PREFACE

This thesis concerning the Egyptian background of the so called Apocalypse of Adam does not claim to be a complete presentation of the text and of previous research. It first of all considers issues which might be relevant for the consideration of the Egyptian background.

When the plan of the present work grew out of my first contact with The Nag Hammadi Library in English by James M. Robinson, little more was intended than to present the Apocalypse of Adam in Swedish, its mythology and theology and to do a short comparative study.

However, out of my studies in the Coptic language under the guidance of Dr. Bo Frid at the University of Lund an increasing interest of the ancient Egyptian influence on the Nag Hammadi texts developed. It is this issue part II-IV of the thesis deal with from different aspects after the edition, translation and presentation of the text in part I. Prof. Tord Olsson at the University of Lund gave me encouragement and confidence to consider the text in this rather original way. Without his guidance, scholarly assistance, criticism and encouragement this work would never had been completed.

The final formulation of the thesis I owe a dept of gratitude to Sr. Mary Patricia OSsS at the Birgittine Monastery of Vadstena.

There is still much more to be done in this field but I have chosen to present my work at this stage, because I think it is of considerable value to make the text available to other scholars and maybe inspire others to continue where I stopped.

Haga, Ödeshög, December 1991

I. PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT

Introduction

The Apocalypse of Adam (ApocAd) is a Coptic text which is a part of a collection of manuscripts (MSS) which were found in about 1947[1] in Upper Egypt in the region of Nag Hammadi near the ancient Chenoboskion.[2] The text will be considered from its Egyptian background.

The collection of manuscripts consists of thirteen codices (52 tractates, ca 1000 pages). ApocAd is a part of Codex V. The complete collection of texts is named the Nag Hammadi Library or Nag Hammadi Codices.

Scholars have had a long wait for the texts because of dramatic events such as the revolution in Egypt 1952 and the Suez Canal crisis 1956. A complete edition of the texts became available first in the 1980's. The time has come for scholars of philology and comparative religion to start their work of analysing the texts.

In contrast to the Qumran scrolls there are no archaeological discoveries in connection with the Nag Hammadi discovery.[3] We cannot say how or by whom the texts have been used. Nor can we say by whom or why the collection of texts has been buried near by the Nile were it was found.[4]

The starting point of our research is consequently not the best. There are simply two facts that we may consider with confidence:

---

[1] The MSS are preserved at the Coptic Museum in Cairo. They are now published in facsimile:"Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices". When there is reference to the MS of Codex V it is always this facsimile edition which is intended. It might be mentioned that the disintegration of the MSS have continued even after that they were collected at the Coptic Museum. Jean Doresse who together with Togo Mina was the first scholar who studied the MSS was obviously able to read more than is possible today. The value of the facsimile edition is of course first of all that the texts now are available for scholars all over the world but also that the texts are preserved as they were when they were glazed.

[2] The exact place of the discovery has not been found again. Therefore all connections between discoveries in the caves of hermits with the Nag Hammadi texts are uncertain.

[3] It seems possible to connect the hermits who lived in the area of the discovery at the time when the MSS were buried with the texts, but because the difficulties in finding the exact place of the discovery it must unfortunately be maintained that there are no certain archeological discoveries in connection with the Nag Hammadi texts.

[4] There are some speculations in the introduction of The Nag Hammadi Library in English by James M. Robinson as to why or by whom the texts were buried. These speculations seem to be quite possible but they remain speculations. Only two facts are certain: The MSS and that they were found near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. It is necessary to keep to these two facts if the texts are to be analysed with a fair amount of certainty.

1. The manuscript (MS).
a. The language.
b. The content of the text.
2. The place of discovery.

The purpose of this thesis is to study ApocAd only in view of these two facts and to present some conclusions from them to improve the understanding of the function, the "Sitz im Leben", of ApocAd in Upper Egypt.

The Coptic language

ApocAd is written in Coptic, the last stage of the ancient Egyptian language. It is possible to distinguish at least five Coptic dialects: Sahidic (S), Achmimic (A), Subachmimic (A2), Fayumic (F) and Bohairic (B).(Part IV of this thesis will also consider the relationships between ApocAd and some ancient Egyptian texts written in Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian, the first in early hieratic and the last in hieroglyphic writing. Some demotic signs will also be considered.) Sahidic Coptic (the southern) seems to have preserved its ancient character better than the other dialects, especially concerning the vocalization.

The relationships between the different dialects are uncertain. Usually they are mixed with each other.[1] ApocAd for example is written in Sahidic but with a significant influence from other dialects. Let us take some examples:

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉ (S)	in ApocAd ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ (A,A2)
ⲉⲓⲉ (S)	in ApocAd ⲉⲓⲉ (A2)
ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ (S)	in ApocAd ϯⲛⲟⲩ (A,A2)
ⲛⲏⲩ (S,A,F)	in ApocAd ⲛⲏⲟⲩ (B,F)
ⲟⲩⲉⲉ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ (S)	in ApocAd ⲟⲩⲁϩ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ (A,B,F)
ⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ (S)	in ApocAd ⲁⲉⲉⲣⲁⲧ (A,A2)
ⲙⲉⲁⲁⲩ (S)	in ApocAd ⲙ̄ⲉⲉⲟⲩ (F)
ⲙⲉⲣⲉ (S)	in ApocAd ⲙⲁⲣⲉ (A2 ?)

A. Böhlig has argued that there is a significant Fayumic influence in the text. H.-M. Schenke on the other hand maintains that NHC V,2-5 displays a pre-classical Sahidic dialect. Here it is enough to establish that the relationships between the different dialects are complicated in ApocAd, but it must be maintained that the text is written in Sahidic and that there are influences from other dialects as Fayumic and Subachmimic.

[1] For general descriptions of the Egyptian language and its different phases and dialects cf:
Erman, A. Ägyptische Grammatik.
Gardiner, A. Egyptian Grammar.
Grapow, H. Vom Hieroglyphischen - Demotischen zum Koptischen.
Till, W. Koptische Grammatik (Saidischer Dialekt).
Till, W. Koptische Dialektgrammatik.

Introduction to the translation and the edition

The MS of ApocAd is well preserved. In the introduction to "The Nag Hammadi Library in English" there is a general presentation of the manuscripts. For a more detailed codicological analysis of Codex V, cf. "Nag Hammadi Studies (NHS) XI and the article "Codicological Analysis of Nag Hammadi Codices V and VI and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502" by James M. Robinson and of course "The Facsimile Edition of Codex V".

Lacunae are indicated with square brackets in the translation and the edition. Some of the lacunae have been reconstructed by A. Böhlig and G.W. MacRae in their editions from 1963 and 1979. The translation and the edition take these reconstructions and translations into consideration, but are based on the facsimile edition of Codex V.

Is it really necessary to present a new edition and a new translation when we already have reliable editions and translations? In the introduction to "The Presentation of the Text" it was emphasized that there are simply two facts we may consider with confidence: The manuscript and the place of discovery. The conclusions of this thesis are based upon these two starting points and therefore I have considered a meticulous study of the MS necessary. The result of this study of the MS is presented in the form of a new edition which contains:

1. All meaningful reconstructions which are highly probable.
2. All signs as various super-linear strokes, the nomina sacra-lines and the peculiar ⏜ -signs.
3. Finally all different punctuations.

The further motivations of this new edition with all its details will gradually become clear for the reader but let us not forestall the conclusions of the thesis.

The translation is an improvement first of all because the philological results are closely connected to the study of the religion of ApocAd and the structure of the text as they are presented in this thesis. In this way it has been possible to elucidate some obscure sections of the text. Major divergences from earlier translations will be motivated in the notes.

Greek loanwords are placed in parentheses.[1]

The lines over some names, nomina sacra, are marked in the translation because of what is said in the chapter about this Coptic custom.

[1] Research concerning Greek loanwords (which are very common in Coptic) is incomplete.Examples of works in this very important issue are:
Schiller, A.A. ⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛ and ⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛⲓⲍⲉ in Coptic texts in 2nd Byz. Bull. 1959 p. 175 etc.,
Wessely, K. Die Griechischen Lehnwörter der Sahidischen und Boheirischen Psalmenversionen in Denkschrift der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Cf. also the chapter concerning Egyptian translations where literal renderings of some Greek expressions are an important component.

Dots in the square brackets in the edition indicate missing letters. Dots under a letter indicates that the letter is visually uncertain.

English words placed in parentheses in the translation are supplied for the sake of clarity.

Coptic signs placed in parenthesis in the edition are written above the ordinary text in the MS.

Edition of NHC V,5

ⲝⲇ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ

ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲁⲗⲓⲙ ⲧⲗ̀

ⲙⲉ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ ϭⲏⲃ ⲉⲣⲟⲓⲥⲓ ⲉ̀ⲛ̄

ⲧⲙⲉⲉ ⲯ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ · ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄

ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̀ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁ

ϣⲏⲣⲉ ϭⲏⲃ· ⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲧⲁ

ⲙⲓⲟⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̀ⲙ̄

ⲡⲕⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲉⲩⲉⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ·

ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉ̀ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ

ⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ· ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̀ⲙ̄

ⲡⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧϥ̄· ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ̈ ⲉⲩϣⲁϫⲉ

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

ⲡⲓϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ

ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϣ ⲁ

ⲉⲛⲉⲥ· ⲛⲉⲛϫⲟⲥⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲉ

ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄

ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ· ⲛⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ

ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ·

ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲱϣ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ

ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲱⲛ

ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ ⲉ̀ⲛ̀ ⲟⲩⲃⲱϫⲕ̄· ⲧⲟ

ⲧⲉ ⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲉⲱⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ·

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ

ⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ̀ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲏⲧ'

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲁ

ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲉ

ⲓⲧⲗ̀ⲫ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲓϥⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲏⲧⲛ̄· ⲁⲩⲓⲱⲗ

ⲁϥⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲓⲛⲓ

ⲗⲁⲓϥ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲓ . . ⲓⲉⲛⲟⲫ

ⲓ . . . . . ⲓⲛⲓ . ⲓⲙⲓ . . ⲓⲉⲛⲟ

ⲓⲥⲧⲣⲉⲓⲛⲉⲁⲗ . ⲓⲛⲓ . . ⲉⲓⲧⲁ ⲥ ⲩ

9 ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ=walk about. The same meaning as the Greek περιπατεώ=live.
11 ϣⲛⲡⲉ="become" in this particular text means "come into existence" as distinct from create.
20 ⲁϥⲧⲱϣ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲱϫⲕ̄=decide against in wrath, i.e. condemn somebody to death according to Jewish-Christian tradition.

Translation from Coptic of NHC V,5

64 The Apocalypse (ἀποκάλυψις) of Adam
The revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) which Adam
taught his son Seth in
the seven hundredth year, saying:
Listen to my words, my
son Seth. When (ὁταν) the god had
created me of
the earth with Eve your mother,
I lived with her in a
glory that she had seen in
the aeon (αἰών) from which we had become.
She taught me a word
of knowledge (γνῶσις) of the eternal god.
And we resembled
the great eternal angels (ἀγγελος)
for (γάρ) we were higher than
the god who had created us and
the powers who were with him, whom
we did not know.
Then (τότε) the god,
the sovereign (ἀρχων) of the aeons (αἰών)
together with the powers, decided (against) us in wrath. Then(τότε)
we became two aeons (αἰών),
and the glory in our heart
left us,
me and your mother Eve
along with the first knowledge (γνῶσις)
that breathed in us. And
it fled from us,
it entered into [ ] great
[ ] grea[t
generati]on (γενεά) [ ] which

28 ⲛⲓϥⲉ see 66:21.
32 65:1-9 makes sense only if 64:32 is reconstructed ⲥⲧⲣⲉⲛⲉⲁⲗ ⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲥⲩ=the great generation [ ] which.

ⲜⲈ

1 ⲓⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϫ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲛⲓ
2 ⲯⲱⲗⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟϫ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
3 ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲉⲓⲩⲓⲥⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
4 ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
5 ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ· ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈
6 ⲥⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉⲓⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ
7 ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
8 ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϯⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ
9 ⲏ̄ ⲉⲃⲟϫ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧϥ· ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲥⲟ
10 ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟϫ
11 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ
12 ⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ϯⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲁ ⲉ
13 ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ
14 ϫⲓⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ
15 ϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲥⲉⲛⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲟ
16 ⲟⲩⲧ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ
17 ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥ
18 ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ· ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲟ̄ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
19 ⲛ̄ⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲟⲙ· ⲁⲩⲱ
20 ⲁⲛⲱ̄ⲙⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ϩⲙ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲟ
21 ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲙ̄ⲥⲁⲗ· ⲙ̄ⲙ̄
22 ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲛⲱⲩⲡⲉ
23 ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲃⲏ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲏϯ·
24 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲧ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲉ
25 ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲏϯ· ⲛⲉⲓ̈
26 ⲛⲁⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲱⲟⲙⲉⲧ
27 ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟϫ
28 ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲙ ⲉⲥⲟⲩ
29 ⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ· ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲏ ⲛⲉ
30 ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲃⲟϫ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲓ[ϩⲛ̄]ⲓ ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ
31 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲗⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲙ
32 ⲙⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲗⲩⲧⲃ̄ ⲉⲓ
33 . . . . . ⲗⲩ· ⲁⲩⲓⲱ
34 ⲓ . . . . . ⲛⲣⲱⲓⲙⲉⲉⲓ

9 ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲟⲛⲉ in 64:32 and ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ in 65:4 refer to ⲣⲉⲛⲉⲁ in the lacuna of 64:32. In this way the problem with 65:9 is solved. The name, the heavenly name of Seth, is the seed of the great generation. Or the seed is from him.

65

1 [had not become] from this aeon (αἰών) from which we
2 became, I
3 with Eve your mother. But (ἀλλά)
4 it (the generation) entered into the seed (σπορά) of
5 great aeons (αἰών). Because of this,
6 I myself have called you
7 by the name of that man
8 who is the seed (σπορά) of the great generation (γενεά)
9 or rather (ἤ) is from him. After
10 those days the eternal knowledge (γνῶσις)
11 of the god of truth
12 withdrew from
13 me and your mother Eve.
14 Since that time we
15 received wisdom about dead things
16 like (ὡς) men. Then (τότε)
17 we recognized the god who had
18 created us. For (γάρ) we were not
19 strangers to his powers. And
20 we served him in fear
21 and slavery.
22 And (δέ) after that we were
23 in the darkness of our heart.
24 And (δέ) I slept in
25 the thought of my heart
26 for (γάρ) I saw three
27 men before my face
28 whose likeness I could not know,
29 since (ἐπιδέ) they
30 were not from the powers
31 of the god who had [created]
32 [us.] They passed through [
33 [ ] And [
34 [ ] men [

This presupposes identity name - generation - seed, an identity which also occurs in 83:4.

[illegible]

1 [illegible]ⲉⲩⲓϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲧⲓⲱⲟⲩ[illegible]

2 ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ̄ⲁ̄ⲁ̄ⲙ̄ ⲉⲃⲟϧ ϩⲓ̄ ⲡⲓⲛ[illegible]

3 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄

4 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ

5 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲡⲛ

6 ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛⲉϩ̄ ⲡⲱϩ ⲯⲁⲣⲟϥ· ⲡⲛ

7 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟϧ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧⲕ· ⲁⲩⲱ

8 ⲉⲃⲟϧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲉⲩϩⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲩⲛⲍⲩⲅⲟⲥ

9 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲛⲉⲓϣⲁ

10 ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ

11 ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲛⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁϩⲉⲣⲁ

12 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲓ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲛϥⲓ ⲁ

13 ϩⲟⲙ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩϩⲁ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲙ̄

14 ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ

15 ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲁϥⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ

16 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟϧ· ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲛ

17 ϫⲉ ⲁ̄ⲁ̄ⲁ̄ⲙ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄

18 ϥⲓ ⲁϩⲟⲙ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ· ⲁⲓⲉ

19 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ

20 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ

21 ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ̄· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲓⲛⲓϥⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ

22 ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ

23 ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲥⲟⲛϩ· ⲧⲟ

24 ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲛ

25 ⲃⲁϫ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥ

26 ⲓⲧⲁⲓⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ

27 ⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟϧ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲓⲙⲓⲛ̄ ⲉⲓⲩ̄ⲓ

28 ⲓⲉⲓⲛ̄ ⲓⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ

29 ⲓ . . . ⲓⲕⲥ ⲁϥⲓ

30 ⲓ . . . ⲓⲉⲕⲉⲓ

31 ⲓ . . . ⲓϫ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲓ

66

1 [they] said to me: arise

2 Adam from the sleep

3 of death and hear

4 about the aeon (αἰών) and the seed (σπορά)

5 of that man

6 to whom the life has come,

7 who came from you and

8 Evē your wife (σύζυγος).

9 When (τότε) I had heard these

10 words from the great men

11 who were standing

12 before me, then (τότε) we

13 sighed, I together with Evē, in

14 our heart. And the lord, the god

15 who had created us, stood

16 before our faces. He said to us:

17 Adam, why were you

18 sighing in your heart?

19 Do you not know that I

20 am the god who created

21 you. And I breathed into

22 you a spirit (πνεῦμα) of life

23 in a living soul (ψυχή).

24 Then (τότε) darkness came upon our

25 eyes. Then (τότε) the god who

26 had created us, created a

27 son from himself [together] with Eve

28 [your mothe]r [

29 [

30 [

31 [ ] in the [

---

21 ⲛⲓⲫⲉ makes one think of the Hebrew נִשְׁמַת in Gen. 2:7, but also of the Egyptian conception where the symbol of life is the breath which the gods breathe into the nose of the king. The Egyptian word for ⲛⲓⲫⲉ is consequently nfy. Cf. also the Egyptian expression ỉ.ḏw·k n ꜥnḫ ndmw m šrt·i"Thy breath of life is sweet in my nostril" . (Steindorff, G.: Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. Section IV p. 944. Leipzig 1906-9).

67

1 ⲗ . . . . . ⲡⲙⲓⲉⲉⲩⲓⲉ . . ⲓⲉ
2 ⲛⲁⲱⲗ . . ⲓ ⲁ̈ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ
3 ⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲥⲟⲗ̅ⲥ̅
4 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ· ⲧⲟ
5 ⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̂ⲥⲏ
6 ⲧ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̂ⲥⲓ ⲧⲁⲕⲙⲏ̂ ⲛ̂ⲧⲉ
7 ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̂ⲱⲁ ⲉ
8 ⲛⲉⲥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ⸌ⲥⲣⲁⲓⲱⲕⲉ⸍
9 ⲙ̂ⲥⲱⲛ ⲙ̂ⲥⲓ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲃ
10 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ
11 ⲙ̂ⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̂ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛ
12 ⲱⲛ̄ⲥ̄· ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈
13 ⲙⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲁ ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ
14 ⲙ̂ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ· ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲉ
15 ⲡⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲏⲑ̄ ⲧⲛⲁ
16 ⲥⲱϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ̈
17 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲗⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲉ
18 ⲃⲟⲗ· ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲓ̄ⲙ̄
19 ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲩ
20 ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̂ⲱⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̂
21 ⲡⲁⲙ̂ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ· ⲭⲉ
22 ⲙ̂ⲙⲛ̂ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲁϫⲱⲕ
23 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̂ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ
24 ⲙ̂ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ·
25 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̂ⲥⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲣ̄
26 ⲗⲙ̂ⲥⲓ ⲛⲓⲗⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̂ⲧⲉ
27 ⲗ . . . . . ⲗⲁ· ⲗⲧⲟⲗⲧⲉ
28 ⲗ . . . . . ⲉⲗⲙ̂ⲉⲁⲗ
29 ⲗ
30 ⲗ

---

27 It is not possible to reconstruct 67:27 with certainty. ⲧⲣⲉⲛⲉⲁ has been suggested but only ⲁ is visible and the years of somebody or something else might have been finished.

67

1 [the] thought [
2 my [ ] I knew
3 a sweet desire (ἐπιθυμία)
4 for your mother. Then (τότε)
5 the vigour (ἀχμή) of
6 our eternal knowledge
7 was destroyed in us
8 and weakness
9 pursued (διώκειν) us.
10 Therefore the days of
11 our life were made few.
12 For (γάρ) I understood that I had
13 come under the power (ἐξουσία)
14 of death. Now
15 my son Seth, I will
16 reveal to you the things
17 which were revealed by
18 those men
19 whome I first
20 saw before
21 my face:
22 After I have completed
23 the times
24 of this generation (γενεά)
25 and [the] years of
26 [
27 have been finished, [th]en (τότε)
28 [ ]slave
29 [
30

[illegible]
1 [illegible]
2 ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲓⲟⲓⲩⲟⲧⲛⲟⲓⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
3 ⲣⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲓ ⲉⲉⲛⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲓⲉ
4 ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲓⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲓ ⲛ̄
5 ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ· ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲩⲉ
6 ⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲝ ⲓⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲓⲧⲉ
7 ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲛⲧⲟⲓⲕⲣⲁ
8 ⲧⲱⲣ· ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲓⲁⲕⲓⲉ ⲥⲁ
9 ⲣⲁⲝ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲉⲙⲓ ⲡⲕⲁⲉ
10 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲕⲱ
11 ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ· ⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲃⲟⲗ
12 ⲉⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲓⲛⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲣⲱ
13 ⲙⲉ· ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲩⲟⲩⲓⲱⲧⲃ ⲉ
14 ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲓⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲡⲓⲱⲛ̄ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄
15 ⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲓⲡⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
16 ⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲓⲙⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲁ
17 ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ· ⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲁⲣ
18 ⲛ̄ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ·
19 ⲙ̄ⲛⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
20 ⲉⲓ ⲉⲉⲛⲛⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲣⲣⲓⲉⲗⲟⲉ
21 ⲉⲛ̄ ⲉⲉⲛⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲉ
22 ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄
23 ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲩⲓ
24 ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲓⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈
25 ⲓⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲛ̄ⲥ ⲛⲓ
26 [illegible]
27
28
29

5 ⲟⲩⲧⲛ=spill. An act of libation.
10 The meaning of this complicated sentence is that the god the almighty destroys all flesh from the earth with that which the flesh seeks after, i.e. the water, and with the seed of the men to whom the life of knowledge has been given, i.e. those who got the name i.e. Seth.

69
1 [
2 For (γάρ) rainwater of
3 the [god] the
4 almighty (παντοκράτωρ)
5 will be spilled [to]
6 destroy all flesh (σάρξ) of
7 the god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ)
8 to destroy
9 [all] flesh (σάρξ) from the earth
10 through this (the water) which it (the flesh)
11 seeks after, with those
12 from the seed (σπορά) [of] the men
13 to whom the life
14 of the knowledge (γνῶσις)
15 were given. This which
16 came from me and Eve
17 your mother. For (γάρ) they were
18 strangers to him.
19 After this
20 great angels will come
21 on high clouds.
22 They will take those men
23 to the place (τόπος) where
24 the spirit (πνεῦμα)
25 [of] life dwells [
26 [
27
28
29

Page 68 is blank in the MS. The end of page 67 and the beginning of page 69 indicate that the papyrus is a part of the tractate which therefore has a long lacuna here.

ⲓ̅ⲟ̅ⲓ

1 ⲓ ⲓⲏⲧ ⲉⲓ.ⲓⲛⲓ..ⲓⲛⲉⲟ
2 ⲓⲟⲩ.....ⲓⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲁⲗⲩ·
3 ⲓ...ⲓⲉⲓ...ⲩⲱⲓⲛⲉ ϫⲓⲛ ⲧⲛⲉ
4 ⲩⲁ ⲛⲕⲓⲁⲁ.....ⲓ ⲫⲛⲁⲩⲱϫⲛ̄
5 ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲓⲏⲣⲫ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁ
6 ⲣⲁϩ ⲉⲓ ⲓⲛⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·ⲓ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ
7 ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲓⲧⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄
8 ⲡⲉⲫⲥⲱⲓⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲧ̄· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲫⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩ
9 ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲓⲉⲓⲟⲙ ⲉϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·
10 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲓⲫⲛⲁⲓⲧⲓⲉⲓⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲩⲏⲣⲉ
11 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲩⲉⲓⲗⲟⲓⲙⲓⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲓ
12 ⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ· ⲓⲙⲓⲛ ⲓⲛⲓⲓⲧ̄ⲃⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉ
13 ⲧⲁⲫⲧ ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ· ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
14 ⲉⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓⲉⲓ ⲧⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲙⲟⲩ
15 ⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲫⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ
16 ϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲓ·ⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ
17 ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲉⲉ· ⲡⲏ ⲉ
18 ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲫ
19 ϫⲉ ⲇⲉⲩⲕⲓⲁⲗⲓⲱⲛ· ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲏ
20 ⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲓⲁⲣⲉⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲫ ⲉⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ
21 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏ
22 ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲓⲟⲙⲉ· ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ
23 ⲓⲧⲃⲓⲛ̄ⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲓⲙⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲓⲛ̄ⲓⲧⲓⲉⲓ
24 ⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲓⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟ
25 ⲓⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲓϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲉⲓ
26 ⲓ
27
28
29

70

1 [ ] glory
2 [ ] there
3 [ ] come from heaven
4 to ea[rth.]
5 all the [people] of the flesh (σάρξ) will be left
6 in the [waters.] Then (τότε) the god
7 will rest from
8 his anger and he will throw
9 his power upon the waters.
10 And he will give power to his sons
11 together with their women through the
12 box (κιβωτός), together with [the] cattle
13 which he liked, together with the
14 birds of heaven which he called.
15 He released them upon
16 the earth. And the god
17 will say to Noah, whom
18 the generations (γενεά) will call
19 ~~Deucalion~~: Behold,
20 I have protected you in the box (κιβωτός)
21 together with your woman, your sons,
22 their women, their
23 cattle and the birds of
24 [heaven] which you called
25 [and released upon the earth]
26 [
27
28
29

20 MS reads ⲉⲣⲟⲫ=him.

[οϩ]

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲓ ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲗⲁⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲕⲓ
ⲛ̂ⲧⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲓⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲛⲁⲣ̂ ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉϫⲱⲩ ⲛ̂ⲧⲟⲕ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄
ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̀
ⲛ̂ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̂ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲁⲍⲉ
ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̀ⲛ̀
ⲕⲉⲉⲟⲟⲩ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱ
ⲡⲉ ⲛ̂ϯⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̂ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ
ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̂ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ· ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̂ⲍⲓ
ⲛ̂ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ⲛⲟⲩϫⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̀ⲛ̀ ϯⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̂ⲛⲉⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ
ⲣⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲁⲍⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲛ̂ⲛⲱⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲱⲍⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁ̀ⲕⲣ̀ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓϫⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ· ⲁⲕ
ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲉ
ϯ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲍⲟⲙ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ϥⲛⲁ
ϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̂ⲍⲓ ⲛⲱⲍⲉ ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲁ
ⲣ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ
ϫⲛⲁⲍ· ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛ
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲗⲁⲓⲧⲟⲟⲗϥ̀ ⲁⲛ· ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲗⲟⲗ ⲉ̀ⲓⲗ
ⲗⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲩⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲛ
ⲗ

23 "In the presence of your wing", ϫⲛⲁⲍ, is probably an allusion to Ps. 17 which is a lament of an unjustly accused. The wing is the wing of the cherub over the Ark on which Yahweh is enthroned. Cf. also the Egyptian ḏnḥ=wing.

71

Therefore I will give the [earth] to you
and your sons.
You will reign over it as kings, you
and your sons. And no
seed (σπορά) of the men who will not step
into the presence of my face in
another glory
will come from you. Then (τότε) they will
become as the cloud of the
great light. Those
men will come who have
been thrown away from the knowledge (γνῶσις)
of the great aeons (αἰών) and the
angels (ἀγγελος). They will step into
the presence of Noah and the aeons (αἰών).
And the god will say to
Noah: Why have you turned away from
what I told you? You have
created another generation (γενέα) so that you
can bring disgrace on my power. Then (τότε)
Noah will say: I will
testify in the presence of your
wing that the generation (γενεά)
of these men did not come into existence
[through me,] nor (οὔτε) through
[my sons
[

[ⲟⲃ]

1 [. . .ⲧⲣⲛⲓⲱⲥⲓⲥ· [.ⲓⲩ[. . .]ⲁ
2 [. . . . .] ⲛⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
3 ⲓⲛⲓⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲃ
4 ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥ̀ⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ
5 ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ· ⲁⲩⲱ
6 ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ
7 ⲉⲧ̀ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
8 ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ (χ) ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉ̀ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
9 ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲫⲁⲣⲥⲓⲁ·
10 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ
11 ⲉⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲓ
12 ⲉⲓⲛ̄· ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲧⲉ
13 ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉ̀ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲏⲧ· ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
14 ⲉⲧⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ
15 ⲧⲉ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲉⲱ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
16 ⲧⲏⲣ̀ⲫ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ·
17 ⲭⲁⲙ· ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲓⲁⲫⲉⲑ· ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲥⲏⲙ·
18 ⲫⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ
19 ⲥⲱⲧ̀ⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲁⲭⲉ· ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
20 ⲁ̈ⲓⲡⲟⲱⲫ ⲉⲭ̀ⲛ̄ ⲧⲏⲩⲧ̀ⲛ̄· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
21 ⲱⲙ̀ⲱⲙ̀ⲏⲧϥ ⲉ̀ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ
22 ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̀ⲧ̀ ⲉ̀ⲙ̄ⲉⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏ
23 ⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ̀ⲛⲱⲛ̄ⲉ· ⲙ̄ ⲡ̀ⲣⲧⲣⲉ
24 ⲙⲡⲓⲉⲧ̀ⲛⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲣ̀ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩ
25 ⲓⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̂ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ
26 [. . . .ⲁⲓⲏⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ [. .ⲓⲧⲏⲓ
27 [
28
29
30
31

21 ⲱⲙⲱⲙⲏⲧϥ is quite likely a miswriting of ⲱⲙⲱⲏⲧϥ.

72

1 knowledge (γνῶσις) [
2 [ ] those men
3 to bring them into their land
4 which is worthy (and) build them their
5 holy dwelling place. And
6 they will be called by the name
7 which is there and they will be there
8 six hundred years in
9 a knowledge of incorruption (ἀφθαρσία).
10 And angels (ἄγγελος) of the great light
11 will be there.
12 No disgusting deeds
13 will be in their heart,
14 only the knowledge (γνῶσις) of the god.
15 Then Noah will divide the
16 whole earth among his sons
17 ~~Ham~~, ~~Japheth~~ and ~~Shem~~.
18 He will say to them: My sons,
19 hear my words. Behold,
20 I have divided the earth among you, but (ἀλλά)
21 serve him in fear and
22 slavery all the days of
23 your life. Do not let
24 your seed (σπέρμα) turn away from the face
25 of the god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ)
26 [ ] I and your [
27 [
28
29
30
31

	⌊ⲟⲩ⌋
1	⌊. . . . ϣⲛⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲥⲉ ⲭⲗⲉ
2	ⲥⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲣ̄ ⲁⲛⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲗⲟⲗ·⌊
3	ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲙ·
4	ⲁⲣⲓⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕ
5	ⲥⲓⲭ ⲉⲧⲭⲟⲟⲣ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ
6	ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲥ ⲥⲁⲥⲛⲉ· ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏ
7	ⲣϥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲫⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
8	ⲛⲁⲣⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ
9	ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟ
10	ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲙ̄
11	ϣⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲃ̄ⲃⲓⲟ ⲭⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ
12	ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲙⲉ·
13	ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲥⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
14	ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲭⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ
15	⌊ⲓ⌋ⲗⲁⲫⲉⲃ· ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ (ⲩ) ⲛϣⲉ
16	ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ· ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉ
17	ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲕⲉⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲟⲉⲓⲗⲉ
18	ⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲛⲏ ⲉ
19	ⲧⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲛⲟⲥ
20	ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲍ· ⲭⲉ
21	ⲃⲁⲉⲓⲃⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲙ ⲛⲁ
22	ⲁⲣⲉⲍ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲉⲓⲗⲉ
23	ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲟⲩ
24	ⲙⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟϥ
25	ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ
26	⌊ⲓⲁⲫⲉⲉ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩ⌊ⲥ⌋
27	ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⌊ⲛⲉⲓⲩ⌊ⲕⲉ⌋
28	⌊ⲥ⌋ⲛⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲍⲟⲩ⌊ⲛ⌋
29	ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣ⌊ⲟ⌋ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲗⲁⲟⲥ
30	⌊ⲧⲟⲧⲉ⌋ ⲥⲉⲛ⌊ⲁ⌋ⲗϣϫⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⌊
31	⌊. . . . . ⲛ⌊ⲉⲱⲛ ⲍⲁ ⌊

2,6 ⲥⲣⲟⲥ=seed, but σπέρμα is not used. A more precise meaning of ⲥⲣⲟⲥ is "that which is prepared".
10 "They will serve" refers to the members of the seed in 73:3.
26 The twelve kingdoms together with another kingdom in line 29 may be the thirteen kingdoms in the following hymn. Cf. also the commentary on strophe 13 in Part II: "The hymnic section".

	73
1	[ ] son of Noah:[
2	seed will please in your presence
3	and in the presence of your power.
4	Seal (σφραγίζειν) it with your
5	hand which is strong in fear and
6	commandment, so that all the seed
7	which came from me
8	may not turn away from you
9	and the god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ)
10	but (ἀλλά) they will serve
11	in humility and
12	fear of their knowledge.
13	Then (τότε) others from
14	the seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and
15	Japheth will go, namely four hundred
16	thousand men. They will enter
17	another country, they will settle down
18	with those men who
19	have come from the great
20	eternal knowledge (γνῶσις), so that
21	the shadow of their power will
22	protect those who have settled down
23	with them from every bad thing
24	and every desire (ἐπιθυμία) which is unclean.
25	Then (τότε) the seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and
26	Japheth will establish twelve
27	kingdoms. And their other
28	seed (σπέρμα) will enter into
29	the kingdom of another people (λαός),
30	[Then (τότε)] will consider
31	[ ] aeons (αἰών) to [

27 "their other seed" is referring to the four hundred thousand men who will enter another country.

ⲗⲱⲗ

1 ⲗ. . .ⲗ ⲉϯⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲗⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲧⲗⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ
2 ⲗⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲫⲑⲁⲣⲥⲓⲁ·
3 ⲗⲁⲓⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲁ ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁ
4 ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ·ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ
5 ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲩⲣ̀ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ
6 ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲙ ⲉϯⲯⲟⲟⲛ̀ ⲉ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲉ
7 ⲟⲟⲩ· ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁ ϫⲉ
8 ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
9 ⲁⲁⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
10 ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̄ⲙ̀ ⲡⲓ
11 ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲭⲁⲙ̄ ⲙⲛ ⲓⲁⲫⲉⲃ
12 ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̀ ⲥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
13 ⲁⲩϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲕⲉⲉⲱⲛ ⲡⲛ
14 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧϥ̄ ⲁⲩⲱ
15 ⲁⲩⲕⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕ
16 ⲥⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲓϫ
17 ϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲍⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
18 ⲉ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲉⲧⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩ
19 ⲱⲯ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
20 ⲉ̄ⲛ̀ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲉⲕⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧⲉ
21 ⲣ̀ ⲣ̀ⲣⲟ ⲉⲍⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ· ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱ
22 ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̀ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̀
23 ⲣⲙ̀ ⲛⲥⲁⲉⲓϫⲉ ⲉ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ·
24 ⲗⲉⲓⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲍⲙⲁⲕ·
25 ⲗⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕ
26 ⲗⲙⲏⲓⲛⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ
27 ⲗⲧⲉⲗ ⲛ̀ⲗⲧⲉⲗ ⲛⲓⲱⲛ ⲩⲛⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲩ
28 ⲗ. . . .ⲗ ⲉ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲙ ⲉϯⲯⲏ̄ⲩⲉ ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ⲗⲟⲩⲗ
29 ⲗ. . . .ⲧⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ϯⲃⲗ̀.ⲗⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗ
30 ⲥⲗⲉⲓⲛⲛⲏⲩ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲗⲡⲕⲗⲁⲁⲉ ⲉⲗⲧⲗⲏ̄

12 Cf. NHC III,2 62:14. It is no reason to presuppose four hundred thousand men here even if 73:12 has four hundred thousand.
15 The glory of Sakla is not lost but it has become a sign of something opposite.
25 ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ=change, turn. The men with gnosis and those who have settled down with them in their glory have changed the people of Sakla, the seed of Noah.

74

1 [ ] who are dead of the great
2 aeons (αἰών) of incorruption (ἀφθαρσία).
3 And they will go to Sakla
4 their god. They will enter
5 the powers, accusing (κατηγορεῖν) the great
6 men, those who are in their
7 glory. They will say to Sakla:
8 What is the power of these men who
9 stood in your presence,
10 those who were taken from the
11 seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and Japheth,
12 who will be four hundred men?
13 They have been received in another aeon (αἰών),
14 from which they became. And
15 they have converted all the glory of your
16 power and the kingdoms of your hand.
17 For the seed (σπέρμα) of Noah has
18 done all your will
19 through his son together with all the powers
20 in the aeons (αἰών) which your power
21 reigns over. Those
22 men and those who
23 have settled down in their glory
24 have not done as you wanted.
25 But (ἀλλά) they have converted
26 all your people. Then (τότε) the god
27 of the aeons (αἰών) will give them
28 those who serve [him
29 [
30 They will come upon the land

lϭⲉ

1 ⲗ. . . . .ⲓⲏ ⲗⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲏⲗ
2 ⲧⲏ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲓⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ· ⲛⲏ ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲓ
3 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϫⲱϩⲙ̄· ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϭⲉⲛⲁ
4 ϫⲱϩⲙ̄ ⲁⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ
5 ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ
6 ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲓϫ ⲉⲥϫⲁϩⲙ̄· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲥϣⲱ
7 ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁϩ ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉ
8 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ·
9 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲱϩ̄ⲩ
10 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲑⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲣⲏϩⲉ ⲉϫⲛ
11 ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲣⲉ
12 ⲟⲩⲕⲱϩ̄ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲗⲟⲥⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲛ
13 ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ ⲕⲁⲕⲉ
14 ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϭⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲱⲥ
15 ⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ
16 ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
17 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲏⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ϩⲉⲛ
18 ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
19 ⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉ
20 ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄
21 ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ· ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲏⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ
22 ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁϫ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲃⲗⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
23 ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ· ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ
24 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̄
25 ⲡⲓⲕⲱϩ̄ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲉⲱⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄
26 ⲥⲉϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛⲓ
27 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
28 ⲗϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ· ⲉⲃⲟⲗϫ
29 ⲗ.ⲓⲣⲩ̄ⲛ ⲱⲛ̄ϩ ⲗ
30 ⲗⲛⲓⲥⲉϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲓ
31 ⲗⲛ̄ⲓⲏⲉⲱⲛ· ⲛⲗ

75

1 [ ] in which the great
2 men will be, those who
3 have not been defiled, nor (οὔτε) will be
4 defiled by any desire (ἐπιθυμία).
5 For their soul (ψυχή) has not become
6 from a defiled hand, but (ἀλλά) it
7 became from a great commandment
8 of an eternal angel (ἄγγελος).
9 Then (τότε) fire,
10 sulphur and asphalt will be cast upon
11 those men. And
12 fire together with mist will come over
13 those aeons (αἰών).
14 The eyes of the powers of the illuminators (φωστήρ) will be darkened,
15 the aeons (αἰών) will not see with them
16 in those days.
17 And great clouds of light
18 will descend,
19 other clouds of light from
20 the great aeons (αιών)
21 will descend upon them.
22 ~~Abrasax~~, ~~Sablo~~ and
23 ~~Gamaliel~~ will descend. They will bring
24 those men out of
25 the fire and the wrath.
26 They will take them beyond the aeons (αἰών)
27 and the sovereign of the powers, they will
28 take them away [from
29 [ ] life [
30 they will take them
31 aeons (αἰών)]

[os]

1 [..]ωπε ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩⲉ [. . . . .]
2 [.]ⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ
3 [ⲧⲟ]ⲩⲅⲁⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ· ⲥⲉⲛⲁ
4 ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ
5 ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲛ
6 ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
7 ⲉⲩⲣ̄ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ·
8 ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲩⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲥ
9 ⲱⲱⲙⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡⲓⲫⲱⲥ
10 ⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲙⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
11 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ· ⲥⲓⲛⲁ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲱⲱϫⲛ̄
12 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲉ
13 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲱⲙⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲭⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲓⲁⲫⲉⲑ
14 ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲱⲱϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲱⲙⲛ
15 ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲁ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲩⲛⲁⲥⲱ
16 ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲟ
17 ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ· ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ
18 ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲙ̄
19 ⲡⲕⲁⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ· ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱ
20 ⲡⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲧⲉϩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ·
21 ⲛⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲙⲱⲥⲓⲥ
22 ⲙ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
23 ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ
24 ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄
25 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
26 ⲗⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲗ
27 [.]ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲥ·
28 [ⲓⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ]
29 [ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲛ̄
30 [ⲙⲓⲟⲟⲩⲧ· ⲧⲏ
31 [ⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ

8 In spite of the fact that the illuminator here is said to be coming for the third time, there are no other arrivals mentioned in the tractate. Cf. NHC III,2 62:24.
11 ⲱⲱϫⲛ̄=leave over. Here the illuminator gives the seed of Noah, Ham and Japheth fruit-bearing treas to redeem their souls. 73:14 ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲱⲱϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲩ seems to refer to the seed and not to the illuminator.
24 "To receive spirit" is not a Jewish theme but certainly a Christian.

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1 [ ] of the gr[ea]t [
2 [ ] there, together with the holy angels (ἀγγελος)
3 and the aeons (αἰών).
4 The men will be like
5 those angels (ἀγγελος) for they
6 are not strangers to them, but (ἀλλά)
7 they will act in the imperishable seed (σπορά)
8 Once again (πάλιν), for the
9 third time, the illuminator (φωστήρ)
10 of knowledge (γνῶσις) will pass in great
11 glory, to (ινα) give
12 to the seed (σπέρμα) of Noah
13 and the sons of Ham and Japheth,
14 to give it (the seed)
15 fruit-bearing trees. And he will redeem
16 their souls (ψυχή) from the day
17 of death. For all that which is moulded (πλάσμα)
18 which has come from
19 the dead earth, will be
20 under the power (ἐξουσία) of death.
21 But (δέ) those who think of the knowledge (γνῶσις)
22 of the eternal god
23 in their heart will not perish.
24 For they have not received spirit (πνεῦμα)
25 from this kingdom only
26 but (ἀλλά) they have received from an [
27 [ ] eternal angels (ἀγγελος)
28 [ ] illuminator (φωστήρ)
29 [ ]come upon
30 [ ] dead [
31 [

17 πλάσμα, all that which is moulded refers to the distinction in the first part of ApocAd between ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ and ⲱⲙⲡⲉ (cf. the chapter "important words"). It is therefore the body which is intended here.

[oz]

1 [. . . .] ⲛⲥⲏⲃ· ⲛⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛ
2 ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲍⲉⲛⲱⲡⲙⲣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲉ
3 † ⲥⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉ(')ⲩ(')ⲥⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
4 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲩⲛⲁⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
5 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ· ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲱ
6 ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ
7 ϫⲟⲥⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲩⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩ
8 ⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ
9 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲉ
10 ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱ
11 ⲡⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲍⲉⲛⲏⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲏ
12 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄
13 ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ
14 ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ· ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁ
15 ⲓⲛⲓⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲉⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ·
16 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁ
17 ⲣⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲓⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ
18 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲩ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ
19 ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲭⲣⲁⲥⲑⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ
20 ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ ⲛⲓⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ
21 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
22 ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
23 ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲏ ⲛ̄
24 ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲛⲓⲱⲁ
25 ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩϫ· ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉ
26 ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲛⲓⲍ[ⲟⲙ]
27 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ †ⲥⲟⲩⲉ[ⲓ]ⲧⲉ
28 [ⲙ̄]ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣ[ⲟ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ]
29 [ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲩⲱⲛ]ⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ̄
30 [. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧ[
31 [

3 MS has ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲟⲙ=their powers, but an inserted ⲓ and dots over ⲉ and ⲩ indicate the reading ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ=the powers.

5 The question is not who the man is who is higher than the powers and their sovereign but what power the man has which is stronger than the powers of the earth, i.e. the power of the man is from the god of light whom the powers of the earth do not know as will be seen in 77:18.

77

1 [ ] of Seth. And he will do
2 signs and wonders to
3 dishonour the powers and their sovereigns (ἀρχων).
4 Then (τότε) he will be worried, the god
5 of the powers, saying: What
6 is the power of the man which
7 is higher than ours. Then (τότε) he will arouse
8 a great wrath against
9 that man. And
10 the glory will leave, it will
11 dwell in holy houses, those
12 which it has chosen. And
13 the powers will not see it
14 with their eyes, nor (οὔτε) will
15 they see the other illuminator (φωστήρ).
16 Then (τότε) they will punish (κολάζειν) the
17 flesh (σάρξ) of the man, he whom
18 the holy spirit (πνεῦμα) has come upon. Then (τότε)
19 the angels (ἀγγελος) and
20 all the generations (γενεά) of the powers
21 will consult (χρῆσθαι) the name
22 in (their) error (πλάνη) saying:
23 From where has it become, or (ἤ)
24 where did the words
25 of falsity come from which
26 all the powers have failed to find?
27 The fir[st
28 kingdom [says about him]
29 [that] he has become [from
30 [
31

15 ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ must mean the other illuminator referring to the illuminators in 85:28 and the two illuminators in the hymnic section 82:7.

21 χρῆσθαι has the meaning to consult a god or oracle about a thing, here is the name consulted, i.e. Seth.

ⲗⲟⲏⲓ

ⲉⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲛⲁ ⲁⲗⲩⲥⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ
ⲱⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ· ⲁⲩⲉⲓ
ⲉϫⲛ̄ ⲕⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·
ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ (ⲃ̄) ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲡⲉ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲗⲏ ⲁⲩⲱⲓ
ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ (ⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ) ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲫⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲓⲧⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲟⲥⲉ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲍⲁⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ· ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉ
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲓ
ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲅ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁⲕ· ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲟⲩϫⲣⲟⲓ·ⲓ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·
ⲧⲙⲉⲍⲱⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲛⲟϫϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲩϫⲓⲧⲩ
ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ· ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩ
ⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ
ⲗⲟⲓⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲙ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲗⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·
ⲗⲧⲙⲉⲍⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲓⲱⲓ
ⲗⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲓⲛⲉⲓ
ⲗⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲓⲛⲟⲥ
ⲗ ⲓⲧ ⲁⲥⲗⲟϫⲟⲙⲱⲛⲓ

78

to heaven, namely a spirit (πνεῦμα). He was nourished
in the heavens. He received the glory
of that one and the power. He came
to the bosom of his mother.
And thus he came upon the water.
And (δέ) the second kingdom says
about him that he has become
from a great prophet (προφήτης).
And a bird came, it took
the child who was begotten, it took him
to a high mountain.
And he was nourished by
the bird of heaven. An angel (ἄγγελος)
came there, he said to him:
Arise, the god has given glory
to you. He received glory and strength.
And thus he came upon the water.
The third kingdom says
about him that he has become
from a virgin (παρθένος) womb (μήτρα).
He was cast out from his city (πόλις),
he and his mother. He was brought
to a desert (ἔρημος) place. He was nourished
there. He came, he received glory
and power. And thus
he came upon the water.
[The fourth] kingdom says
about him that he has become
[from a vi]rg[in (παρθένος)
[ ] S[olomon

l$\overline{\text{ϑϑ}}$l

ⲓⲕⲱⲓⲧⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲫⲏⲣⲥⲁⲗⲱ̄
ϩⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲩⲏⲗ̄ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲟⲩ· ⲁⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ
ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲧ
ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ̄ϩ̄
ⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ·
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲥ· ⲁϥϫⲓⲧⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲓⲱⲛ· ⲁⲥⲉⲣ ⲃⲁⲕⲉ (ω̂ω̂)
ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ̄ϥ ⲁ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲭ̄ⲍ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ· ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲓⲣⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ̄ϥ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟ
ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁ̄ⲛ ⲧⲥⲡⲟ
ⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ̄ⲥ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϫ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ
ⲙⲟⲟⲩ· ⲧⲙⲉⲍⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ
ⲁϥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲭ̄
ⲧⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ· ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧϥ
ⲉⲃⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ
ⲱⲟⲡϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁϥϫⲡⲟϥ
ⲁϥⲟⲭϥ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ
ⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ· ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓⲗⲗ ⲉϫ̄ⲙ̄ ⲗⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·l
ⲗⲧⲗⲙⲉⲍⲥⲟ (ϛ) ⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲗⲙⲏⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲗⲟⲗ
ⲗϫⲱ ⲙⲓⲙⲟⲥ ⲗϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲗ
ⲗ. . . .ⲉⲧ ⲗ. .ⲉⲍⲣⲗⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲉ̄ⲱⲛ̄

10 ⲉⲣ ⲃⲁⲕⲉ is perhaps from the Bohairic ⲉⲣ ⲃⲟⲕⲓ which means become pregnant. ⲱⲱ is written above in the MS and is a synonym to ⲉⲣ ⲃⲟⲕⲓ.

13 ⲩⲱⲭ̄ⲍ=stake, a stake which was used to stay canalbanks. The stakes were thus the border of the desert.

79

[sought] after her, he together with P̄hersāt̄ō
and S̄aūēl and his armies (στρατιά)
which had been sent out. Solomon
himself sent out his army (στρατιά)
of demons (δαίμων) to seek after
the virgin (παρθένος). And they did not find
the one whom they sought after, but (ἀλλά)
the virgin (παρθένος) who was given to them,
she whom they brought
took Solomon. The virgin (παρθένος) became pregnant,
she gave birth
to the child at that place.
She nourished him at a boundary mark
of the desert (ἔρημος). When
he had been nourished, he received
glory and power from the seed (σπορά)
from which he had been begotten.
And thus he came upon the
water. And (δέ) the fifth
kingdom says about him that
he has become from a
drop of the heaven. He was thrown
into the sea (θάλασσα). The depths
received him, gave birth to him,
brought him to the heaven. He received
glory and power. And
thus he came upon the water.
And (δέ) [the] sixth kingdom
[says] that a [
[ ] down to the ā̄ēōn̄ (αἰών)

ⲓⲏ

1 ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲣⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲓⲁⲁⲓⲧⲉ ⲛ
2 ⲍⲉⲛⲍⲣⲏⲣⲉ· ⲁⲥⲱⲱ̂ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲛ̄
3 ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲍⲣⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲥ
4 ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲏ (ϫⲡⲟⲏ) ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
5 ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄
6 ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲑⲉⲱⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄
7 ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
8 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲙ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ
9 ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ· ⲧⲙⲉⲍ ⲍ̄
10 ⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ ⲛ̄
11 ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲗⲧⲗⲉ ⲡⲉ
12 ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ
13 ⲁⲩϫⲓⲧⲟ ⲉⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲍⲉⲛⲃⲛⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉϥ
14 ⲍⲉⲛⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ ⲩ
15 ⲁⲗⲟⲩ· ⲁⲩⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟ ⲁⲩ
16 ϫⲓⲧⲟ ⲉⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲧ
17 ⲧⲗⲧⲗⲉ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
18 ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲙ
19 ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓⲍⲉⲓ
20 ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ· ⲧⲙⲉⲍ ⲙ̄
21 ⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄
22 ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉⲓ
23 ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ ⲩ
24 ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ
25 ⲓⲉⲓⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲥ· ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏ
26 ⲓⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲛ ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲗϫⲙ̄ⲛⲓ
27 ⲓⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ· ⲁⲩϫⲓⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲫⲗⲟⲩⲓ
28 ⲓⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲫⲗⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲓⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·ⲓ
29 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲓⲧⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲓⲫⲓ ⲉⲓϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·ⲓ

1 MacRae has reconstructed the lacuna in line 1 ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ=gather. A synonym is written above in the MS but it is also impossible to read. According to Crum ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ is rare in Sahidic and it is not enough space for ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ. The proposal of Böhlig, ⲧⲁⲁⲧⲉ=spread, is more likely.

3 The genitive ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲍⲣⲉⲣⲉ express the desire for the flowers.

80

1 which is below, to [spread]
2 flowers. She became pregnant of
3 her desire (ἐπιθυμία) for the flowers. She
4 gave birth to him at that place (τόπος).
5 The angels (ἄγγελος) of
6 the floral splendour (ανθεῶνος) nourished him. He received
7 glory at that place
8 and power. And thus he came
9 upon the water. And (δέ) the
10 seventh kingdom says
11 about him that he is a drop.
12 It came from the heaven to the earth.
13 Dragons (δράκων) brought him down into caves,
14 He became a
15 child. A spirit (πνεῦμα) came upon him,
16 brought him to the high place from which the
17 drop had come.
18 He received glory and power
19 at that place. And thus
20 he came upon the water. And (δέ) the
21 eighth kingdom says
22 about him that a cloud came
23 upon the earth, it surrounded a
24 rock (πέτρα). He was begotten
25 from it.
26 The angels (ἄγγελος) who were above
27 the cloud nourished him. He [received] glory
28 [and] power [at that] place.
29 And [thus he] came u[pon the water.]

81

1 ⲓⲧⲙⲓⲉⲁⲓⲯⲓⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲏⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ ⲙ
2 ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲋⲛ ⲧⲯⲓⲧⲉ (ⲑ)
3 ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲓⲁⲱⲛ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
4 ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥϫⲟⲥⲉ ⲁⲥⲣ
5 ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲉⲥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲏⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲱⲥ
6 ⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲣⲡⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲥ
7 ϫⲉ ⲉⲥⲉⲓⲱⲙⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲟⲟⲩⲧⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ
8 ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
9 ⲁⲥⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲋⲛ ⲓⲧⲓⲉⲥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ
10 ⲁⲩϫⲡⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲓ
11 ⲗⲁⲓⲧⲣⲉϫⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲋⲓϫⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ
12 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲏⲡⲙⲁ
13 ⲗⲉⲓⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ
14 ⲓⲧⲋⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ· ⲧⲙⲉⲃ ⲓ
15 ⲓⲙⲓⲏⲧⲉ ⲏⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ ⲏⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
16 ϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲡⲉ (ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ)
17 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲁϥϫⲡⲟ ⲏⲙⲟϥ
18 ⲉⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲥⲓϫ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϫ(ⲥ)ⲉ
19 ⲗⲉⲓϫⲛ ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ (ⲥⲙⲡⲉ) ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
20 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲋⲛ ⲧⲧϫⲧⲗⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩ
21 ϫⲡⲟϥ· ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩ
22 ⲗⲥⲓⲟⲙ ⲏⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ
23 ⲛⲧⲋⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·
24 ⲓⲧⲓⲙⲉⲃ ⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉ (ⲓⲋ) ⲁⲉ ⲙⲙⲛ
25 ⲓⲧⲓⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲗⲧⲓ
26 ⲓⲣⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓ ⲗⲉⲧⲓⲉϥⲱⲉⲉⲣⲗⲉⲓ
27 ⲗⲟⲩⲁⲁⲗⲧⲥ ⲁⲥⲱⲓⲱⲓ ⲉⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲃⲓⲟⲗⲓ
28 ⲗⲁⲙ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲥⲛⲟⲩϫⲉⲓ
29 ⲗ. . . . . ⲓⲩⲓ. . . ⲓⲩⲙⲉⲉⲟⲩⲓ

19 Obviously a cosmic copulation between a god and desire.

1 And (δέ) the [ninth] kingdom says
2 about him that from the nine
3 Muses (πιερίδες) one separated.
4 She came upon a high mountain, she
5 spent some time there, so that (ὥστε)
6 she desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) herself
7 to become man-woman.
8 She fulfilled her desire (ἐπιθμία) and
9 became pregnant from her desire (ἐπιθυμία)
10 He was born. The
11 angels who were over the desire (ἐπιθυμία) nourished him.
12 He received glory at that place
13 and power. And
14 thus he came upon the water. The
15 tenth kingdom says about him
16 that his god loved a cloud
17 of desire (ἐπιθυμία). He brought him forth
18 in his hand. And he threw out
19 from the drop to the cloud hear him
20 And
21 he was born. He received glory
22 and power at that place. And
23 thus he came upon the water.
24 And (δέ) the eleventh
25 kingdom says that the father
26 desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) his [own] daughter.
27 She became pregnant herself by
28 her father. She threw [
29 [ ] tomb [

	ⲗⲡⲃⲗ
1	ⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲓ̈ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲧⲉ
2	ⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉ
3	ⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲉ ⲁⲭⲉⲓ̈ ⲉ
4	ⲭ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ: ϯⲙⲉⲥ ⲓⲃ̄
5	ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ
6	ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲭⲉ ⲁϥⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
7	ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ (ⲃ̄) ⲁⲩⲥⲁ
8	ⲛⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲗⲁⲓϥⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ
9	ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲉ ⲁⲭⲉⲓ̈
10	ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ· ϯⲙⲉⲥ ⲓⲅ̄
11	ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ
12	ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲭⲉ ⲥ(ⲭ)ⲓⲛⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ
13	ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ·ⲗ
14	ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲱϣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲗⲁⲗ
15	ⲉⲧ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ· ⲁϥ
16	ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ·
17	ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲉ ⲁⲭⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ
18	ⲥ̄ⲓⲛⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩ
19	ⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲟⲙ· ϯⲣⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲇⲉ
20	ⲙ̄ⲛⲁⲧ̀ⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲭⲱⲥ ⲭⲱ
21	ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲡ
22	ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
23	ⲗⲁⲓϥⲧⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲧ̀
24	ⲗⲭⲓⲱⲥⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄
25	ⲗⲉⲛⲧϥⲓ· ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲓϥⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲭⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲃⲟⲗⲓ
26	ⲗⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲓⲩⲁⲛⲣ ⲛ̄ϣ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲉⲓⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̄ⲛⲓ
27	ⲗⲟⲩⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϣⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲗⲡⲓⲗ
28	ⲗⲛⲟⲥⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ· ⲁⲓⲩⲱ

18 ⲧⲱⲧ means to conjoin the desire of the powers, i.e. the destiny of the word of their sovereign is to bring the desire of the powers in union, to mingle the desire with each other.

82

in the desert (ἐρημος). The angel (ἀγγελος)
nourished him at that place.
And thus he came
upon the water. The
twelfth kingdom says
about him that he has become
from two illuminators (φωστήρ). He
was nourished there. He received glory
and power. And thus he came
upon the water. And (δέ) the
thirteenth kingdom says
about him that every birth
of their sovereign (ἀρχων) is a word (λόγος).
And this word (λόγος) received a destiny
at that place. He
received glory and power.
And thus he came upon the water
to conjoin the desire (ἐπιθυμία)
of those powers. And (δέ)
the generation (γενεά) without a king over it says
that the god chose
him from all the aeons (αἰών).
He caused knowledge (γνῶσις) of the
undefiled of truth to come
[in his heart.] He said that he came
[from] foreign air (ἀήρ), [from]
a great aeon (αἰών), namely [the
great] illuminator (φωστήρ). And [

[ⲡⲅ]

ⲧⲓⲣⲓⲉⲛⲓⲉⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲛ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲟⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ
ⲉⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ
ⲉⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ϥ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲧ
ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲛⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥ
ⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲓϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ
ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲓⲟⲓⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲛⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲗⲉⲩⲓϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲧⲙⲉ· ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲛ̄ⲍ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉ
ⲗⲱⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲱⲛ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲓⲧⲗⲁⲕⲟ ⲉⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ· ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲕ ⲛⲓⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓ
ⲃⲟⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟ
ⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲱ
ⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ· ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ
ⲁⲛⲣ̄ ⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧ
ⲱⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲃⲟⲙ· ⲁⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ
ⲓⲃⲁⲗⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲓⲛⲓⲉⲛⲃⲏⲩⲉⲓ
ⲓ . . . ⲓⲩ ⲁⲛⲱⲗⲱⲓ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲓⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲓⲧⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲓⲧⲙⲉⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏⲩⲓⲩⲉⲓ
ⲓⲧⲓⲏⲣⲓⲟⲩ . . . ⲓϫⲁⲙⲓ

4 The result of the hymnic section is the resistance of the seed and the unification of all who received the name upon the water. The identity between those who received the name and the name (Seth) refers to 65:9.

83

the generation (γενεά) of those men
shone, those whom he had chosen for him,
so that (ὥστε) they should shine upon the
whole aeon(αἰών). Then (τότε) the seed (σπορά) will
resist the powers, those who will receive his
name upon the water and unite
all of them. And a dark
cloud will come upon them. Then (τότε)
the peoples (λαός) will cry with a loud voice
saying:
Blessed is the soul (ψυχή) of those
men, they knew
the god with a knowledge (γνῶσις)
of truth. They will live till
the aeons (αἰών) of the aeons (αἰών), because they have not been
corrupted in their desire (επιθυμία)
with the angels. Nor (οὐτε)
have they fulfilled the works of the
powers. But (ἀλλά) they have stood
in his presence in a knowledge (γνῶσις)
of god as light
which came from fire
and blood. But (δέ) we
have done everything in the heartlessness
of the powers. We have praised in
the transgressions (παράβασις)
of our works
[ ]. We have cried against [the god]
of [truth] because all his works
[

[ⲡⲁⲗ]

1 ⲟⲩⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲥ ⲡⲉ· ⲛⲉⲓ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ
2 ⲡⲛⲁ· ⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ
3 ⲛⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ
4 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ
5 ⲉⲥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲓⲭⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ
6 ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲣ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲛⲏⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ· ⲛⲏ
7 ⲉⲧϩⲓⲭⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲱⲕⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
8 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ [ⲉⲓ]ⲧⲟⲛϩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
9 ⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲱⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ
10 ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲛ ϩ[ⲉⲓ]ⲛⲥⲙⲏ ⲛⲁⲛϥ
11 ⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲙⲟ[ⲓ]
12 ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ
13 ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ ⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛ[ⲓ]ⲁⲃⲏⲩⲉ[ⲓ]
14 ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲟϥ· ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲉϩ ϩ[ⲓ]ⲃⲟⲗ
15 ⲛ ϩⲉⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲁ ⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲛ[ⲓ]ⲉ[ⲓ]
16 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲛϩ[ⲓ]ⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲉϩ ⲛ
17 ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲉⲗⲏⲗ· ⲉⲁⲧⲉ
18 ⲧⲛⲭⲉϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛ[ⲧ]ϩ[ⲓ]
19 ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ
20 ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲟⲙ
21 ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯ ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲟ
22 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲱⲙⲱⲉ
23 ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉ
24 ⲧⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲁ ⲛⲓ
25 ⲓⲣⲓⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲏ
26 ⲓⲉⲓⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲱⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲓ
27 ⲓ..ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓ....ⲓⲥⲁⲛⲉ
28 ⲓ.ⲓⲉⲡⲓⲃⲩⲙⲓⲁ.....ⲓⲉ

8 ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ. The translation "the water which is life" express the identity water-life.

23 ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲧⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ must be a dittography. Here translated as negative first perfect.

84

1 eternity.Those are against our
2 spirit (πνεῦμα). For (γάρ) now we have known that
3 our souls (ψυχή) will die in a death.
4 Then (τότε) a voice came to them
5 saying: Micheu and
6 Michar and Mnesinous, those
7 who are over the bath which is holy
8 and the water which is life, why
9 were you crying against the god
10 who is life with lawless (ἄνομος) voices
11 and tongues without law (νόμος)
12 and souls (ψυχή)
13 full of blood and defiled
14 works. You are full of
15 works, not from the truth,
16 but (ἀλλά) your ways are full of
17 mirth and jollity. You have
18 defiled the water of life,
19 you have drawn it in
20 the will of the powers,
21 those whom you have been given to serve.
22 And your
23 thought
24 is not like (the thought) of
25 those men whom
26 you persecute
27 [
28 [ ] desire (ἐπιθυμία)[

	ⲓⲛⲉⲓ	85
1	ⲓⲙⲓⲁⲣⲉⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲧⲁⲉ ⲭⲱⲱⲙ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	Their fruit does not wither. But (ἀλλά)
2	ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ	they will become known
3	ⲫⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ· ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲭⲉ	to the great aeons (αἰών), because the words,
4	ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	which they protected, of the god
5	ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧ(·)ⲟ(·)ⲟ(·)ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ	of the aeons (αἰών), were not put in
6	ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲁⲛ·	the book, nor (οὔτε) were they written.
7	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲉⲛⲁϥⲅⲉⲗⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ	But (ἀλλά) angelic beings (ἀγγελικός) will bring them,
8	ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄	whom all the generations (γενεά) of men
9	ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲧⲏⲓⲣⲟⲓⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ· ⲥⲉ	will be ignorant of.
10	ⲛⲁⲱⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲓⲣ ⲉⲓ̈ⲭ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥ	For (γάρ) they will be upon a high mountain,
11	ⲭⲟⲥⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲭ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲓⲩⲓⲛⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ·	on a rock (πέτρα) of truth.
12	ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲥⲉⲙⲁϯ ⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ	Therefore they will be named:
13	ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲫⲑⲁⲣⲥⲓⲁ	The words of incorruption (αφθαρσία)
14	ⲓⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϯⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ	and truth of those who know
15	ⲓⲙ̄ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲫⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲉ ⲉ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ	the eternal god in
16	ⲓⲥⲓⲱⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄	wisdom (σοφία) of knowledge (γνῶσις) and
17	ⲗⲟⲓⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϥⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲫⲁ	teaching of eternal angels (ἀγγελος):
18	ⲉⲛⲉⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ:	He knows everything:
19	ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲫⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ	These are the revelations (ἀποκάλυψις) which
20	ⲗⲁϯⲇⲁⲙ ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃ ⲡⲉϥ	Adam showed Seth his
21	ⲫⲛⲣⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲡⲉϥⲫⲛⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲉ	son. And his son taught
22	ⲧⲉϥⲥⲡⲓⲟⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ· ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ϯⲣⲛⲱ	his seed (σπορά). This is the
23	ⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲕⲣⲩⲫⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁ̄ⲇⲁⲙ̄	secret (ἀπόκρυφον) knowledge (γνῶσις) of Adam
24	ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑ̄· ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭⲱ	which he gave to Seth, which
25	ⲕ̄ⲙ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉϯⲥⲟ	is the bath which is holy, for those who
26	ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ϯⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϫⲓ	know the eternal knowledge (γνῶσις)
27	ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϫⲟⲣⲟⲅⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛ̄ⲓ	through the logosborn (λογογενής)
28	ⲛⲓⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲁϥⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛⲏ ⲗⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ	and the incorrupted illuminators (φωστήρ) [who]
29	ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̄ⲛ̄ ϯⲥⲡⲓⲟⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁⲃⲓ	came from the holy seed (σπορά):
30	ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲩⲥ ⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲁⲣⲉⲩⲓⲥ ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉ	Jesseus, Mazareus, [Jesse-]
31	ⲇⲉⲕⲉⲩⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲓⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲗⲟⲛⲉⲓ	dekeus. The water which is life.
32	ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲫⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ̄ⲓ	The apocalypse (ἀποκάλυψις) of Adam.

4 ⲁⲣⲉⲉ here means that the unwritten words were hidden and protected by the seed who have received the name. The words were not proclaimed but kept in secret by the seed, Seth.

Important words

Even the translation reveals to a considerable extent the dominating content of the text. So far we do not need any further commentary. Sentences such as "And we resembled the great eternal angels for we were higher than the god who had created us and the powers who were with him, whom we did not know", in the introduction, speak for themselves. Nor is it my intention to make the mythological content of ApocAd to the essential theme of this thesis. Nevertheless I think that it might be of considerable value by way of introduction to look at some of the obviously most important words and see how they are used in the tractate. Through the application of these important words we might see what views the tractate has of cosmos and man, but here the purpose is to get further clues to the research of the function of the text, the "Sitz im Leben" of the text. The page and line references refer to the Coptic text but is usually in accordance with the translation.

ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ=create

The word occurs in the following lines: 64:6,17 65:18,31 66:15,20,26 71:19. **ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ** is only used concerning creation of the human body by god the creator, and when Noah is accused of creating another generation by god the creator. When the tractate otherwise describes "coming into existence" of different kinds, **ϣⲱⲡⲉ** is used, which usually is translated "become". The text itself makes a clear distinction between the creation of the human body from earth which is mentioned in 64:6 and all other becoming.

ϣⲱⲡⲉ is used in the following lines: 64:11,23,32 65:2 70:3 71:24 73:19 74:14 75:5,6 76:18 77:29 78:7 80:14,17,24 82:6,24. **ϣⲱⲡⲉ** is never used concerning the creation of the human body except in 76:18. The Greek πλάσμα however, makes it clear that it is a question of a creation from the earth.

The closest equivalents to the Coptic **ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ** are the Hebrew יצר rather than ברא, and the Greek κτίζω or πλάσσω.

This consistent distinction of "the ways of becoming" is an essential element in the view of human existence of the text. Through this linguistic distinction between different ways of becoming, the text makes a clear distinction between the human body which is created from earth and the other faculties of man which come from other sources. Man himself is divided, which the tractate expresses in a mythological way through the description of the origin of the different parts of the human being. The text consequently describes a fundamental experience in human existence, namely that the human body is bound to the earth which the other faculties of man are not.

ⲣⲱⲙⲉ=man

The word occurs in the following lines: 65:7,16,27 66:5,10 67:18 69:12,22 71:6,11,24 72:2 73:16 74:6,8,12,21 75:2,11,24 76:4 77:6,9,17 83:1,11 84:25 85:9. These references show that the text divides men in two groups (disregarding the illuminators): Those whom we might call ordinary people and those (fewer) who possess a special quality which usually is called γνῶσις. The result of possessing that quality is that this minority is persecuted. The text itself gives no reason to suppose a historical process or event in the tractate. What the use of the word **ⲣⲱⲙⲉ** shows thus far is only that the generation of men is divided in two groups and that the one who possess γνῶσις suffer persecution because they own γνῶσις. This division of men is not peculiar. We have a similar division, even if it is on different principles, in the New Testament, between those who have faith and those who are without faith. They who possess the special quality, faith, also suffer persecution.

As the individual man in himself is divided, as we have seen in the comparison between **ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ** and **ϣⲱⲡⲉ**, the generation of men is similarly dual.

ⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ=knowledge

The word occurs in the following lines: 64:13,27 65:12 69:15 71:12 72:14 73:20 76:10,21 82:23 83:13,20 85:16,22,26. Here we have one of the most important words in the tractate. 85:23 goes very far in emphasizing the word gnosis saying: "This (i.e. the whole ApocAd) is the secret knowledge (γνῶσις) of Adam".

What interests us here is what this specific text means by the word, not what other parts of the so called gnostic movement mean. This however is extremely difficult to grasp. The text speaks about "a word of knowledge, the knowledge that breathed in us, the eternal knowledge, the life of knowledge, the knowledge of the great aeons, the knowledge of the god, the illuminator of knowledge, a knowledge of truth, in wisdom of knowledge, a secret knowledge". What we might say with certainty is that it is gnosis that separates people who belong to the earth from people who belong to the light, that separates the god of creation from the eternal god. Furthermore, the disappearance of gnosis that breathed in Adam and Eve leads to that they will come under the power of death. It is also said that this gnosis is not written anywhere according to 85:6. Gnosis is consequently inexpressible, indescribable and indispensable. In spite of that, gnosis is transmittable. Adam transmits the revelation (which is gnosis) to Seth, Eve to Adam, the three men to Adam. Seth on his part gave it to his seed. The illuminator passed with the knowledge to give it to the seed of Noah.

So far gnosis seems to be an experience which is indescribable, inexpressible and indispensable, but at the same time it is possible to

transmit it, either from divinities or the aeons of light to men, or from man to man. The transmitability of gnosis is an important idea in the text and we will have opportunity to return to this theme several times.

It might also be mentioned that at the same time as gnosis is transmittable, there are no signs in the text that it is possible to obtain gnosis. It is always passed on from person to person. The description in the text of what gnosis is may be poor considering the important place the word has. On the other hand it is explicitly said how gnosis is given. ApocAd 85:22 etc.: "This is the secret knowledge of Adam which he gave to Seth which is the bath which is holy (an expression which we will deal with below), for those who know the eternal knowledge through the logosborn and the incorrupted illuminators, who came from the holy seed, Jesseus, Mazareus, Jessedekeus. The water which is life. The Apocalypse of Adam".

The bath in the water of life is the giving of the inexpressible, indescribable and indispensable experience which ApocAd calls gnosis. One might speak about identity gnosis - the bath which is holy. This holy bath is obviously something of the most central in the religion which ApocAd is a part of. In this bath man is separated from the earth, from death, from the authority of god the creator, and in the same bath man is brought back to the world of light. But that which is given in the bath which is holy remains inexpressible.

ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ=desire

The word occurs in the following lines: 67:3 73:24 75:4 80:3 81:6,8,9,11,17 82:18 83:16. The text describes desire as the exact opposite of gnosis. Desire leads to gnosis being destroyed and man's coming under death. It is not desire of something particular which leads to this disastrous result but the desire in itself, even if sexual desire is mentioned. Adam knew a sweet desire for the mother of Seth in 67:2.

ApocAd gives no clear definition of gnosis, but through the description of the antithesis of gnosis in the text, a conception of what gnosis is may be obtained. The opposite of desire which the tractate deals with is absence or lack of desire, non-desire, emptiness. ApocAd should consequently express a classical state of opposition between the desire which binds man to the earth and an exalted emptiness, completely without desire. This exalted liberation from all desire that binds man to earth and death is given in the bath which is holy which washes away desire. The exalted liberation is named gnosis in ApocAd.

ⲣⲁⲛ=name

The word occurs in the following lines: 67:3 73:24 75:4 80:3 81:6,8,9,11,17 82:18 83:6. Note also 85:12: "Therefore they will be named: The words (**ϣⲁⲥⲉ** not λόγος) of incorruption and truth of those

who know the eternal god in wisdom of knowledge and teaching of eternal angels". By this can be seen that the name is the word of incorruption and truth, i.e. gnosis. Consequently it is a question of identity gnosis - name in so far as the receiver of gnosis is also bearer of the name.

Another identity can also be seen in 65:5: "Because of this, I myself have called you by the name of that man who is the seed of the great generation or rather is from him". Furthermore in 83:4: "Then the seed will resist the powers, those who will receive his name upon the water and unite all of them". By this we can see an identity between the seed of the generation and the name, i.e.: the name is the seed of the generation which possesses the indescribable experience gnosis.

The name, i.e. Seth, is in itself bearer of the essence of the whole message in ApocAd, a kind of mythological personification of the exalted emptiness. To go through the bath which is holy, to see the great light, implies that man becomes a part of the seed which is bearer of the name, which is to participate in the bearing of the name, i.e. Seth. The community of those who have gnosis is Seth.

ϭⲟⲙ=power

The word occurs in the following lines: 64:18,22 65:30 74:5,19 75:14,27 77:3,5,13,21,26 82:19 83:19,25 84:20. The powers of god the creator persecute those with gnosis. It is also the powers who will punish the flesh of the man (the illuminator) whom the spirit which is holy has come upon. The powers are always against the spirit as Thomas Mann said.

ApocAd makes it quite clear that it is the powers who have the authority upon earth and that they therefore are subject to god the creator. They always try to exterminate those who bring gnosis, i.e. the illuminator and the seed of Seth. They have also tried to get power over the water of life which is given in the bath which is holy, they have defiled the water. ApocAd considers that all earthly power has its legitimacy from god the creator and that these earthly powers always are against gnosis, the water of life, the spirit which is holy, the illuminators, the seed of Seth and the bath which is holy.

By mentioning the powers and their destructive work led by Sakla, god the creator, the text is expressing an experience by those who have received gnosis, namely that all the powers on earth are destructive and full of desire, i.e. empty of gnosis. The powers in ApocAd are a kind of mythological creatures formed out of the experience of the reality on earth which those who possess gnosis make.

αἰών

The word occurs in the following lines: 64:11,21,23 65:1,5 66:4 71:13,15 73:31 74:2,13,20,27 75:13,16,21,31 76:3 79:30 82:23,27 83:4,14-15 85:3. There is no description of cosmos in the text, but the tractate uses cosmological ideas to explain the message, the experience which proclaims to be the utmost value of life, gnosis. In the same way as the mythological characters scarcely have any dominating function in the text, the conception of cosmos arranged in different spheres of space and time with their sovereigns has no function worth mentioning. The tractate draws very freely from the mythological material of its culture and uses it for its special purpose. In the same way it makes use of the cosmology of its time to present the most important issue of human existence. To look for a particular cosmology or doctrine about the aeons in ApocAd is therefore a rather useless occupation. But we might ask for what purpose ApocAd uses the word aeon.

An aeon is first of all a conception concerning space and time, an instrument used to describe physical reality, but ApocAd uses the word to describe events in the spiritual world. Space and time dimensions are simply what is at hand to describe the indescribable. Through dividing human existence into different spheres it is possible to describe human origin and goal, to reach the great light away from desire of the earth. And through using this idea of aeons it is possible for the author of the tractate to describe the actions of the light, whose purpose is to take man up to the light and to protect those with gnosis through descending illuminators.

Briefly: The spiritual existence which ApocAd deals with can only be described allegorically, and ApocAd makes this description by means of the dimensions of space and time. There is consequently not any particular cosmology in ApocAd.

ⲙⲟⲟⲩ, ⲙⲟⲩ=water

The word occurs in the following lines: 69:3 70:6,9 78:5,17,26 79:19,27 80:9,20,29 81:14,23 82:4,10,17 83:6 84:8,18 85:31. Furthermore we have the expression **ϫⲱⲕϩ̄ ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ**="the bath which is holy", which in spite of its great importance in ApocAd only is mentioned twice, in 84:7 and 85:24.

First of all we have the problem of translating this expression. The Coptic synonym to the Greek βάπτισμα (which is used in NHC III,2, The Gospel of the Egyptians,GEgypt) is primarily **ⲱⲙⲥ**. In ApocAd however, **ϫⲱⲕϩ̄ ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ** is used. This can mean bath, but also and perhaps first of all washing. ApocAd does not make it quite clear if "bath" is a mere washing or total immersion. Support for the immersion theory could possible be found in NHC III,2 where similar mythological material can be found. The other version of GEgypt, NHC IV,2, unfortunately

fragmentary but older than NHC III,2, has sometimes **ⲱⲙⲥ** and sometimes **ϫⲱⲕϩ̄**, where NHC III,2 has βάπτισμα. Guided by this I have chosen the translation "the bath which is holy", but "the washing which is holy" is also possible.[1]

Water has an extraordinary important function in the text, both water as symbol of death and the water of life which is given in the bath which is holy. Apart from the introduction (64-67) I maintain that ApocAd is a text which first of all deals with the water, the water of death and life. The god tries to drown all the people to exterminate gnosis, he throws his power upon the water, the kingdoms answer the question how the illuminator came upon the water and at the end of the text there is mention of the water of life and the bath which is holy. Through water, life and death are given. It is difficult to free oneself from the thought that the way in which the text deals with water, the bath as giver of the utmost experience of life, gnosis, connects the text with some kind of baptism. The connection between γνῶσις and **ⲙⲟⲟⲩ** might very well lead to the conclusion that the text belongs in a context concerning baptism.

Conclusion of "important words":

This brief analysis of the important words shows that ApocAd considers man to have two origins, one heavenly (from the eternal god) and one earthly (from god the creator, i.e. Sakla). This is emphasized by the use of the word **ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ**.

Similarly human beings are of two kinds, those with gnosis and those without. Those who are without gnosis live under the powers (**ⲥⲟⲙ**) of god the creator, and are full of dark desire which in itself exclude gnosis which is the experience of illuminated, exalted emptiness. Those who have gnosis are the seed of Seth, they are the name (**ⲣⲁⲛ**), Seth.

Gnosis is given through water, the bath which is holy. It may even be considered that the bath which is holy is the secret knowledge (γνῶσις) of Adam which is ApocAd according to ApocAd 85:22 etc..

By this may be concluded that ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic text which has water (and the bath which is holy) as the dominating theme, water as giver of life and death. This suggests that this Coptic text belongs to a kind of baptismal context.

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1 Cf. Crum W.E. A Coptic Dictionary, the words **ⲱⲙⲥ** and **ϫⲱⲕϩ̄**. Cf. also the chapter "The Egyptian background of **ϫⲱⲕϩ̄ ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ**.

The structure of the text

Even if no definition of the form of ApocAd has been attempted, it might be of some help for the further research to analyse the structure of the text. For practical reasons we presuppose that it is a prosaic text.[1]

Part A:	
64:1-6	Introduction.
64:6-19	The condition of man when his two origins coexisted.
64:20-29	The condemnation in wrath by god the creator.
64:30-65:5	Glory flees.
65:5-9	The giving of the name.
65:9-21	Gnosis leaves Adam.
65:22-66:14	The three men appear and Adam sighs.
66:14-25	The second condemnation by god the creator.
66:25-67:14	God the creator generates a son and man experiences desire.
67:14-68:	The revelation of the three men.
Part B:	
69:1-18	The flood comes.
69:19-	The great angels save those with the life of knowledge.
70:4-16	All flesh is drowned and god the creator rests from his wrath.
70:16-71:8	God the creator gives the earth to Noah and his sons.
71:8-15	Those with gnosis return.
71:16-	God the creator accuses Noah; the defense of Noah.
72:1-14	Those with gnosis get their land and dwell there 600 years.
72:15-	Noah divides the earth among his sons and tells them to serve god the creator in fear.
73:1-12	One of the sons of Noah speaks. Shem?
73:13-24	400 000 men of the seed of Ham and Japheth go to them with gnosis.
73:25	The seed of Ham and Japheth establish twelve kingdoms and another kingdom is established by their other seed.
74:3-26	The seed of Ham and Japheth go to Sakla and accuse him.
74:26-75:16	Sakla tries to exterminate the undefiled with fire, sulphur and asphalt (cf. Sodom and Gomorrah).

[1] Cf. the structural analysis by A. Böhlig in his presentation of the text 1963: Koptisch-Gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi.

75:17-76:7	Great clouds of light come and save those without desire from fire and wrath and bring them to the place of the holy angels.
Part C:	
76:8-20	The illuminator comes for the third time to save the souls of men from death.
76:21-77:1	Those who contemplate gnosis will not be destroyed.
77:1-7	The illuminator does signs and wonders in order to disturb god the creator.
77:7-18	The flesh of the illuminator is punished.
77:18-28	The name is consulted concerning whence the illuminator came.
77:27-83:4	The hymnic section with the answers of the kingdoms.
83:4-84:3	The people start their resistance against god the creator and cry out their lamentation.
84:4-85:18	A voice declares.
85:19-32	Conclusion. This is the revelation.

It is obvious that the text is in three large sections: first an introduction, a mythological description of man and his situation, secondly the story of the flood and thirdly the salvation of men by the illuminator. Worth mentioning in the first part (A) are the three disasters which god the creator causes man:

1. Man loses glory and gnosis and is given death as destiny.
2. The eyes of man becomes darkened. Previously they saw the great light.
3. Man comes under the power of death, affected by desire his life is shortened.

One might say that these three condemnations or disasters concern most people: they are blind and full of desire and they will die after a short life. This description of the human situation is clearly an important issue of part A.

In part C those who have gnosis are described, who are quite the opposite of those in part A. They are liberated from the authority of Sakla:

1. They stand in the gnosis of the eternal god.
2. They shine.
3. They will live to the aeons of the aeons.

Nothing can be said about the conclusive section of part A since page 68 is unwritten.

The story of flood, part B, is independent. It begins with water being spilled and is completed when Abrasax, Sablo and Gamaliel save those without desire from the disaster of fire, sulphur and asphalt. The story of the flood describes the generation of men in a mythological way but primarily the great dividing line through the generation of men, namely

the difference between those with gnosis and those without. If part A deals with the relationship of the individual man to the eternal god and god the creator, to the light and darkness, to gnosis and desire, it might be said that part B deals with the same issue but now regarding the whole generation of men. Part C finally presents a mythological story about the salvation of men by the illuminator and the bath which is holy.

Consequently there is the same pattern here when the text is dealt with as a whole as when the separate important words were analysed. First of all concerning the idea that there have always been people who have had the indescribable gnosis and when their existence has been discovered by Sakla and his earthly powers they will be persecuted, but in this persecution they can always trust in the help of the eternal god and his messengers, the illuminators.

Briefly concerning the literary form of ApocAd

The main issue of this thesis is the form of ApocAd. Therefore this issue will be dealt with below, but there are some matters which might be worth mentioning in the presentation of the text. As we have seen ApocAd uses myths, mythological persons and cosmologies in a rather free way. Therefore one should be very cautious and not see ApocAd as a complete mythological cosmology in which a soteriology has been incorporated. The purpose of ApocAd is to transmit the inexpressible experience, gnosis, which is given in the bath which is holy. But there is a paradox in the text. On one hand the text wants to lead the reader to a hidden inner secret, on the other hand it is hiding the same secret.ApocAd is an apocalyptic text but to the same extent it is apocryphal. Its purpose is therefore to help the reader to reach the meaning, but at the same time to hide its meaning.

This character of transmission of the text together with the hymnic section and the mentioning of the bath which is holy might indicate that ApocAd with its revealing and hiding belongs to a cultic context and in that case a baptismal cult. We will return to this issue in part II.

Proper names in ApocAd

We leave the more known names: Adam, Eve, Seth, Noah, Shem, Ham,Japheth, Solomon, Sauel and Phersalo.

74:3,7 ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁ Sakla

Occurs also in NHC II,1 11:17 NHC II:4 95:7 NHC III,2 57-58. Sakla is according to all these texts god the creator, Yaldabaoth.

70:19 ⲇⲉⲩⲕⲁⲗⲓⲱⲛ Deucalion

From the Greek δεύω=make wet, rain and καλέω=call on, summon to do something.

75:22-23 ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲝ ⲥⲁⲃⲗⲟ ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ Abrasax, Sablo, Gamaliel.

Occur also in NHC III,2 52-53 where they are the servants of the illuminator together with Gabriel. They have a similar function in Zostrianos, Codex Brucianus and the Trimorphic Protennoia.

84:5-6 ⲙⲓⲭⲉⲩ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲣ ⲙⲛⲏⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ Micheu, Michar, Mnesinous.

Mnesinous from the Greek μνῆσις=remind and νοῦς=mind. Occur also in Codex Brucianus, NHC III,2 64:14-20 NHC XIII,1 48:18-21. In all these texts they are concerned with the water of life. Note that they seem to have a negative function in ApocAd (they defile the water of life) unlike the other texts. (Cf. also the Mandaean Ginza L.).

85:30 ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲩⲥ ⲙⲁⲍⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲇⲉⲕⲉⲩⲥ Jesseus, Mazareus, Jessedekeus.

Occur also in NHC VIII,1 47:5-6 NHC III,2 65:10-11. In Zostrianos they are called immortal spirits and in GEgypt παραστάτης.

ApocAd in relation to Genesis

ApocAd seems to be very free in its relations to the mythology of the Old Testament. But the text is more consistent than it seems at first sight. ApocAd consistently uses the tradition which usually is called the Yahvist tradition (J) and ignores the Priestly tradition (P). This becomes apparent from the following examples:

1. ApocAd 64:6 etc.: ⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲋⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲁⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ· "When the god had created me of the earth with Eve your mother". Here it is obvious that the way in which ApocAd uses the word ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ corresponds to the Hebrew יצר in Ge 2:7 (J) and not ברא in Ge 1:27 (P).

2. ApocAd 64:28 66:21. That ApocAd uses the J-tradition is also confirmed by the use of ⲛⲓϣⲉ, the Hebrew נפש in Ge 2:7 (J).

3. ApocAd takes also up the J-tradition in Ge 4:25 where the birth of Seth means that there are two generations of men in mankind from the first man, namely the generation of Seth and the generation of Cain. But the P-tradition incorporates Cain in the generation of Seth. This tradition is of course unacceptable for ApocAd. It would spoil the whole meaning of the text.

The genealogical table of Ge 5 (P): Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah. Because ApocAd keeps to the J-tradition and not incorporate Noah in the generation of Seth it is possible for ApocAd to use the story of the flood in its own way and with its own purpose.

4. ApocAd 65:26 etc. 75:9 etc. have their parallel in Ge 18:1-19:38 (J) even if it was Abraham who met the three men in Ge and not Adam as in ApocAd.

5. The woman gives knowledge to the man in ApocAd 64:12 as in Ge 3:6 (J) and the unity between man and woman came to an end in ApocAd 64:23 and in Ge 3 (J) because of this knowledge.

6. ApocAd 66:25 where god the creator creates a son with Eve corresponds to Ge 4:1 (J): קניתי איש את יהוה. Septuagint has:ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον δία τοῦ θεοῦ.

7. The story of the sons of Noah in Ge 9:18-27 (J) is taken up by ApocAd in 72:15 etc..

It seems that ApocAd is consistent in keeping to the J-tradition. How that was possible or in what purpose it chose this tradition is difficult to say but it can be noted that the final redaction of Genesis was completed long before ApocAd was written. Is there a preference for the name of God, Yahweh?

ApocAd in relation to the New Testament

From 76:6 there are elements in the text which are not parallel to the New Testament, but there are subjects, thoughts and expressions which we might associate with the New Testament and the early church.

1. The illuminator descends to the earth in 76:8-17 to save the generation of men.

2. The illuminator performs signs and wonders according to 77:1-15 to dishonour the powers of the earth.

3. The flesh of the man (whom the illuminator has come upon) is punished by the powers of the earth.

4. The hymnic section contains themes which we also can find in the New Testament:

a. 78:7-8 The illuminator has become from a prophet.

b. 78:18 etc. The illuminator has become from a womb of a virgin and he was cast out from his city and was taken to a desert place.

c. 80:14 The illuminator became a child and a spirit came upon him and brought him to a high place where he received glory and power.

d. 82:10 etc. The sovereign gave birth to a word and the word received a destiny, a mission.

e. The god chose him and because of that gnosis came into his heart. Furthermore the illuminator chose men for himself so that they should shine upon the whole aeon.

5. Another example of an early Christian theme might be the end of the whole apocalypse where the bath which is holy and those who know gnosis through this bath and the illuminator are identified with the first bearer of the name and gnosis, i.e. Seth.

But neither these examples, nor any other sections of the apocalypse represent any certain Christian influence. The text itself does not exclude any of at least two possible relations to the New Testament and the early Christianity:

1. ApocAd is a syncretistic product from the second century which has been influenced by the early Christian preaching on salvation.

2. ApocAd is a product from an apocalyptical movement in Judaism. During the first centuries it was possible for the spirituality of ApocAd to

coexist with and perhaps be united with other apocalyptic movements in Judaism or/and Christianity. The subject of ApocAd is an experience which was not unfamiliar to early Christianity or to the growing monastic movement in Egypt and it is not unfamiliar to esoteric monastic movements of our days. But ApocAd can never coexist with a State religion. The gnosis of ApocAd is always against the powers of the earth.[1]

Conclusion of Part I

ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic[2] text. Its purpose is to transmit and express an experience which is indescribable and to inform how and where one might get this ultimate experience. This experience is usually called gnosis and means non-desire, exalted emptiness, great formless light, purity. This gnosis liberates man from the earth and the powers of the earth and unites him with his real origin, the light. Man receives gnosis from the illuminator and through the bath which is holy. The water of life washes away destructive desire and gives gnosis.

This can be accepted without any doubt so far. After this general presentation of the text a more detailed analysis of some sections will now be dealt with. First of all we have to consider if the text belongs in a context of baptism, a baptismal cult. ApocAd itself takes up this question through its content, the hymnic section and the very important functions given to the water and the holy bath.

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[1] J.M. Robinson has considered the oppositional character of the Nag Hammadi texts toward the established society and the state in the introduction of the Nag Hammadi Library in English. Considering ApocAd it is easy allow Robinson's theory. It is not possible to integrate ApocAd into a society as the religion of the state. It is, in its essence hostile to earthly power. Cf. also Pagels, E. The Gnostic Gospels. General remarks on the relations between the Nag Hammadi texts and the New Testament cf. Pearson, B.A. De nyfunna gnostiska texterna och nya testamentet and Cahiers Evangile 58, 1987.

[2] The word "Gnostic" is used without any further definition. Cf. Eltester, W Vorschläge des Messina Kongresses von 1966 zur Gnosisforschung. According to the consideration of the most important words in ApocAd it is evident that this is a Gnostic text in the sense of the Messina Conference. There is a conception of man in ApocAd which implies a divine origin and an origin from the lower god the creator. The descending illuminator brings gnosis back to man, liberates man from earth and unites him with the light, his real origin and essence.

II. THE HYMNIC SECTION NHC V,5 77:27 - 83:4

Introduction

A great deal of attention has been paid to ApocAd since it became accessible for scholars 1963, eighteen years after its discovery. This has been caused by Alexander Böhlig who in his presentation of the text 1963 (Koptisch Gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi) argues that ApocAd contains a non-Christian and maybe a pre-Christian redeemer myth. The redeemer came from heaven to earth to establish a community of men who are saved. The redeemer performed this through a temporary union with a man whose flesh is punished by the powers of the earth, SOM. This hypothesis has received support in all essentials from scholars as MacRae, Rudolph, Schenke and Smithals. G.M. Shellrude argues in favour of the opposite opinion in "The Apocalypse of Adam: Evidence for a Christian Gnostic Provenance". The discussion has not been particularly fruitful. In any case it is obvious that nobody has been able to present conclusive evidence in favour of their opinion.

Very little has been said up to now about the text itself in spite of the recommendation by Rudolph to study the poetry in the Nag Hammadi texts.[1] The present work offers more detailed studies of the text to find out if that might be a way to understand the "Sitz im Leben" of ApocAd. The hymnic section in ApocAd which Rudolph commented: "Dieser stück ist eines der merkwürdigsten und nicht einfach zu deuten", has been chosen first.

The prelude to the hymnic section NHC V,5 76:8-77:26

"Once again, for the third time, the illuminator of knowledge will pass in great glory, to give the seed of Noah and the sons of Ham and Japheth, to give it fruit-bearing trees. And he will redeem their souls from the day of death. For all that which is moulded which has become from the dead earth, will be under the power of death. But those who think of the knowledge of the eternal god in their heart will not perish. For they have not received spirit from this kingdom only but they have received from an [ ] eternal angels [ ] illuminator come upon [ ] dead [ ] of Seth. And he will do signs and wonders to dishonour the powers and their sovereigns. Then he will be worried, the god of the powers, saying: What is the power of the man which is higher than ours.

[1] Rudolph has not presented a detailed analysis of any Nag Hammadi texts, but he emphasizes that detailed studies of the texts remain to be undertaken.
Cf. Die Gnosis, Wesen und Geschichte einer spätantiken Religion.
Der Mandäismus in der neueren Gnosisforschung.
Coptica-Mandaica. Zu einigen übereinstimmungen zwischen Koptisch-Gnostischen und Mandäischen Texten in NHS VI p. 191 etc..

Then he will arouse a great wrath against that man. And the glory will leave, it will dwell in holy houses, those which it has chosen. And the powers will not see it with their eyes, nor will they see the other illuminator. Then they will punish the flesh of the man, he who the holy spirit has come upon. Then the angels and all the generations of the powers will consult the name in error saying: From where has it become, or where did the words of falsity come from which all the powers have failed to find?"

The hymnic section

Strophe 1.
The first [ ] kingdom says about him
that he has become from [
] to heaven, namely a spirit
he was nourished in the heavens
he received the glory of that one and the power
he came to the bosom of his mother
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 2.
And the second kingdom says about him
that he has become from a great prophet
and a bird came
it took the child who was begotten
it took him to a high mountain
and he was nourished by the bird of heaven
an angel came there
he said to him: arise
the god has given glory to you
he received glory and strength
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 3.
The third kingdom says about him
that he has become from a virgin womb
he was cast out from his city, he and his mother
he was brought to a desert place
he was nourished there
he came, he received glory and power
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 4.
The fourth kingdom says about him that he has become from a virgin
Solomon sought after her

he together with Phersalo and Sauel and his armies which had been sent out
Solomon himself sent out his army of demons
to seek after the virgin
and they did not find the one whom they sought after
but the virgin who was given to them
she whom they brought took Solomon
the virgin became pregnant
she gave birth to the child at that place
she nourished him at a boundary mark of the desert
when he had been nourished he received glory and power
from the seed from which he had been begotten
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 5.
And the fifth kingdom says about him
that he has become from a drop of the heaven
he was thrown into the sea
the depth received him
gave birth to him, brought him to the heaven
he received glory and power
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 6.
And the sixth kingdom says
that a [ ] down to the aeon which is below to spread flowers
she became pregnant of her desire for the flowers
she gave birth to him at that place
the angels of the floral splendour nourished him
he received glory at that place and power
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 7.
And the seventh kingdom says about him
that he is a drop, it came from the heaven to the earth
dragons brought him down into caves
he became a child, a spirit came upon him
brought him to the high place from which the drop had come
he received glory and power at that place.

Strophe 8.
And the eighth kingdom says about him
that a cloud came upon the earth
it surrounded a rock
he was begotten from it

the angels who were above the cloud nourished him
he received glory and power at that place
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 9.
And the ninth kingdom says about him
that from the nine Muses one separated
she came upon a high mountain
she spent some time there
so that she desired herself
to become man-woman
she fulfilled her desire
and became pregnant from her desire
he was born, the angels nourished him
those who were over the desire
he received glory at that place and power
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 10.
The tenth kingdom says about him
that his god loved a cloud of desire
he brought him forth in his hand
and he threw out to the cloud near him
from the drop and he was born
he received glory and power at that place
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 11.
And the eleventh kingdom says
that the father desired his own daughter
she became pregnant herself by her father
she threw [ ] tomb
[ ] in the desert
the angel nourished him at that place
and thus he came upon the water:

Strophe 12.
The twelfth kingdom says about him
that he has become from two illuminators
he was nourished there
he received glory and power
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 13.
And the thirteenth kingdom says about him
that every birth of their sovereign is a word

and this word received a destiny at that place
he received glory and power
and thus he came upon the water
to conjoin the desire of those powers.

Strophe 14.
And the generation without a king over it says
that the god chose him from all the aeons
he caused knowledge
of the undefiled of the truth
to come in his heart
he said that he came
from a foreign air
from the great illuminators
great aeon
and the generation of those men shone
those whom he had chosen for him
so that they should shine upon the whole aeon.

Language and dating

The MSS which are accessible today were written ca. 350-375 A.D.. This dating is based on the fragments of papyrus which were used to pad the leather covers of the MSS, and the fact that the different Codices seem to have been written in order to be bound in these covers.[1]

Palaeographic research of ApocAd comes to the same result.[2] The letters in ApocAd differ apparently from the Greek letters of the third century and they are obviously before the Coptic writing of the fifth century. The MS were consequently written during the fourth century and hardly during its first half.

Coptic literature is to a great extent translations. This is probably also the case with the Nag Hammadi texts even if it is somewhat uncertain.The frequency of Greek loanwords and words like γάρ, ἤ, τότε, δέ, οὔτε etc. are not an indication of that a particular text is translated but that the Coptic language was created for translations. The dating of the Coptic ApocAd below (300-350 A.D.) makes it unlikely that the text was written in Coptic but as will be shown, the border between translations and real authorship is diffuse. In this thesis the creation of the Coptic ApocAd is considered to be a translation but the reader must bear in mind that this standpoint first of all depends on the dating of the texts

[1] Cf. The introduction to the Nag Hammadi Library in English.
Barns, J. Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices: A Preliminary Report in NHS VI p. 9 etc..
Wisse, F. Codicological Introduction in NHS VI p. 225 etc..
The introductions in the Nag Hammadi Studies.

[2] Cf. Stegeman, V. Koptische Paläographie.

and that Coptic was a language for translations. The construction of the text also indicate that it is a translation, for example the frequent use of ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ.

The translations of the Nag Hammadi texts were probably made before 350-375 A.D. when our MSS were written. How long the texts were transmitted in Coptic before our MSS were written is uncertain. Some scholars argue that the considerable amount of scribal errors in the text have occurred during the Coptic transmission and that these scribal errors are a sign of a long Coptic transmission. The scribal errors are however difficult to distinguish from known and unknown variants of the dialects. Moreover, errors in the Coptic text are not necessarily due to a long Coptic transmission. These errors might as well be due to lack of education of the scribes.

The Coptic language was created for and with the translation of the Bible into Coptic. The whole Bible was translated into Sahidic ca. 300. The books of the New Testament were translated ca 270. The Gospel according to Matthew was translated as early as 250. The beginning of the translation of the Bible cannot be dated earlier than 200. The translation into Bohairic is probably later. The need of an Egyptian Bible must have been more acute in Upper Egypt than in Lower Egypt where Greek was well known.[1]

By these chronological facts concerning the origin of the Coptic language and the dating of the MS we have access to, it follows that ApocAd hardly can have been transmitted in Coptic very long. The so called scribal errors cannot depend on a long Coptic transmission of the text but rather the incompetence of the scribe or dialectal variants. Some uncertainty remains of course concerning the original Coptic version of ApocAd, but the text cannot have been transmitted in Coptic for a longer period than 75 years. This is not an unessential fact. Errors in the transmission of the text are very important for a metrical analysis of a poetical text.

Scriptio continua is used in ApocAd and in all the Nag Hammadi texts and has nothing to do with the literal form of the text. This makes it especially difficult for a metrical analysis of poetical texts because one should be able to separate the verses and the strophes.

The dominating point of view today is that all the Nag Hammadi texts are translations from Greek even if there seems to be some uncertainty concerning ApocAd which might be of Aramaic origin. It is however not likely that the Egyptians were able, as early as 300 A.D., to translate a text such as ApocAd directly from another Semitic language into Coptic. On the other hand we have the possibility that ApocAd was written in Aramaic, translated into Greek from which the text was translated by the Egyptians into their own language. This possibility is not

[1] Cf. Steindorff, G. Bemerkungen über die Anfänge der Koptische Sprache und Literatur.
Till, W. Koptische Grammatik (Saidischer Dialekt).

uninteresting in connection with a metrical analysis of the text. Translations of poetry often preserve the metre of the original language even if the translation is relatively free.

Translations from Greek into Coptic were absolutely not a work word by word. The translators were obviously so free that translations of poetry demanded an independent poet just as translations of poetry between modern languages demand a poet. A Coptic hymn is therefore never a copy of the Greek original. The Greek original is according to Junker almost a starting point for the Coptic writer and translator.A metrical analysis of Coptic hymns and poetry is therefore relevant even if it always is translated poetry. It is then possible to consider if the translator has preserved the metre of the Greek poetry, or if he has created a Coptic metre, or if he has transferred a foreign metre from an original Semitic language. We have also the possibility that the poetry has been translated without any thought of the metre.

Coptic poetry

Erman, Junker and Säve-Söderbergh have established the fundamental rule of Coptic poetry[1] (ancient Egyptian poetry will be dealt with after the metrical analysis): Only stressed syllables are of account. Unaccented syllables are of no importance in order to establish the measure of a hymn. The verses in Coptic poetry may therefore vary in length though they have the same number of stressed syllables, the same number of beats. The difficulty is consequently to know if a word should be stressed or not. There are many poetical deviations from the grammatical accentuation, but to describe all these deviations here would distract from the subject.

There is also the difficulty of separating each verse or stichoi in a metrical analysis and sometimes even the strophes because of the lectio continua in the Nag Hammadi texts. The strophes are however easy to separate in the hymnic section of ApocAd.

There are simply three dominating difficulties in a metrical analysis of the hymnic section of ApocAd:

1. It cannot be completely certain that the text is original. It could have been altered during the Coptic transmission even if this was short. The text might also have been misconstrued because of the scribe's incompetence and there might also be dialectal variants which have influence on the metre.

[1] Cf. Allberry, C.R.F. A Manichaean Psalm-Book Part II.
Erman, A. Bruchstücke Koptischer Volksliteratur.
Junker, H. Koptische Poesie des 10 Jahrhunderts Teil I, Teil II in Oriens Christianus 1906 and 1908.
Säve-Söderbergh, T. Some remarks on Coptic Manichaean Poetry in 2nd Byz. Bull. p. 159 etc..
Säve-Söderbergh, T. Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book. Prosody and Mandaean Parallels.

2. The separation of each stichoi is not evident. Punctuation is a poetical instrument in Coptic poetry but it is used rather freely and irregularly (cf. the chapter on Egyptian poetry).

3. The rules of accentuation in Coptic poetry contain many possibilities of deviations from the grammatical accentuation and gives the poet/translator much freedom and the scholar great agony.

In spite of these difficulties a metrical analysis of the hymnic section of ApocAd will be attempted. The poetical sections in the Nag Hammadi texts are the oldest Coptic poetry known, older than the hymns and psalms of the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book which was analysed by Säve-Söderbergh 1949 on the basis of the poetical rules presented by Erman and Junker at the turn of the century. Despite this, these rules are used here in this attempt at metric analysis. There is scarcely any reason to suspect any changes in the rules governing Coptic poetry during the time which separate the Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook from the text under consideration. In this way may the poetical sections in the Nag Hammadi texts become an important link between later Coptic poetry and ancient Egyptian poetry.

A metrical analysis of the hymnic section in ApocAd

A. Böhlig as well as G.W. MacRae defined the hymnic section in ApocAd to NHC V,5 77:27-83:4. This definition is reliable. The structure of the hymn is clear. It consists of 14 strophes.Each strophe is an answer of a kingdom to the question where the illuminator came from. All strophes are structured in the same way. First there is an introduction. For example: "And the third kingdom says about him ...". This introduction seems to have a common metre as will be shown. After the introduction follows a varying number of stichoi, but usually they are four. In all the strophes except the last strophe 14, there is as conclusion a refrain: "and thus he came upon the water".

The sign – between two words means that they are connected and shall be read with one accent only. The sign .. between two words means that they may be read with one accent only.

Strophe 1: 77:27-78:5

1 ⲧⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⸢ ⸣ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ--ⲉⲣⲟϥ

2 ⲭⲉ--ⲁϥⲱⲙⲡⲉ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ ⸢

3 ⸢ ⸣ⲓⲉⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̂ⲥⲓ--ⲟⲩⲡⲛⲁ

4 ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϣϥ ⲛ̄--ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲩⲉ

5 ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ--ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ--ⲙ̄ⲛ̄--ⲧⲥⲟⲙ·

6 ⲁϥⲉⲓ--ⲉⲭⲛ̄ ⲕⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲥ ⲛ̂ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲁⲩ·

7 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛ̂ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲭⲙ̄--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 1: 77:27-78:5

1 The first [ ] kingdom says about him

2 that he has become from [

3 [ ]to heaven, namely a spirit

4 he was nourished in the heavens

5 he received the glory of that one and the power

6 he came to the bosom of his mother

7 and thus he came upon the water.

Probably a 7-line strophe. Verse 4 deviates since it seems to be read with two beats only. We have the same deviation in strophe 3. Is it possible to read ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϣϥ with two beats in order to preserve the metre? All the verses after the introduction begin with ⲁ. The punctuation confirms the division of the verses.

Metre:
Introduction 3:?
Verses ?:2:3:3
Refrain 3

Strophe 2: 78:6-17

1 ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ--ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ
2 ⲭⲉ--ⲁϥⲱⲱⲡⲉ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ̄--ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ·
3 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ--ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏ
4 ⲁϥϥⲓ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟϥ
5 ⲁϥⲭⲓⲧϥ--ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲭⲟⲥⲉ·
6 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϥ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ̄--ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲧⲡⲏ·
7 ⲁⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
8 ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲭⲉ--ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲅ
9 ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ--ⲙⲁⲕ·
10 ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄--ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟ·
11 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ̄--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 2: 78:6-17

1 And the second kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from a great prophet
3 and a bird came
4 it took the child who was begotten
5 it took him to a high mountain
6 and he was nourished by the bird of heaven
7 an angel came there
8 he said to him: arise
9 the god has given glory to you
10 he received glory and strength
11 and thus he came upon the water.

The second verse of the introduction is obviously to be read with four beats. It is possible to stress **ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** but it is more likely that **ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ** has two stresses. The first is the original Greek accent and the second the new Coptic one. All the verses after the introduction begin with **ⲁ** except verse 8 which however is a so called **ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ**-verse which often has metrical deviations in Coptic poetry. The punctuation confirms the division of the verses based on the contents of each verse.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 2:3:3:3:3:3:3:3
Refrain 3

Strophe 3: 78:18-26

1 †мєѕѡомте м̂м̂нт̂рро ⳉѡ--м̄мос--ерок
2 ⳉе--ⲁчѡѡпе--ⲉвох ⲉ̂ⲛ̂--оумнтрⲁ м̄пⲁрⲑєнос
3 ⲁуноⳉ̂ч--ⲉвох ⲉ̂ⲛ̂--тєчпоⲗіс н̄точ--м̄н̄--тєчмⲁⲁу
4 ⲁуⳉіт̄ч ⲉума ⲛ̂ернмос·
5 ⲁусⲁноуⳉ̄ч м̂мⲁу·
6 ⲁчⲉ̂і ⲁчⳉі ⲛ̂оуⲉооу--м̄н̄--оуⲉом·
7 ⲁуѡ--ⲛ̂†ⲍⲉ ⲁчⲉ̂і ⲉⳉ̄м̄--пімооу·

Strophe 3: 78:18-26

1 The third kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from a virgin womb
3 he was cast out from his city, he and his mother
4 he was brought to a desert place
5 he was nourished there
6 he came, he received glory and power
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Once again a 7-line strophe. Verse 5 diverges with two beats but may have three if ⲁусⲁноуⳉ̄ч can have double accent (cf. strophe 1). All verses after the introduction begin with ⲁ. The punctuation confirms once again the division of the verses.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:3:3:3
Refrain 3

Strophe 4: 78:27-79:19

1 †ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̀ⲣⲟ ϫⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ--ⲉⲣⲟϥ
2 ϫⲉ--ⲁϥⲱⲟⲡⲉ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄--ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
3 ⲁⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲟⲛ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
4 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ--ⲙ̀ⲙ̄--ⲫⲛ̀ⲣⲥⲁⲗⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄--ⲥⲁⲩⲏⲗ--ⲙ̄ⲙ̄--ⲛⲉϥⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲟⲩ·
5 ⲁⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ--ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲧⲁⲩⲟ--ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲛⲓⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ
6 ⲉⲕⲱⲧⲉ--ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ †ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ·
7 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲙ̄--ⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ·
8 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ †ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲥ--ⲛⲁⲩ·
9 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ--ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲥ· ⲁⲩϫⲓⲧ̄ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ--ⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ·
10 ⲁⲥⲉⲣ ⲃⲁⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ--†ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
11 ⲁⲥⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲙⲁ--ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
12 ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϣϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄--ⲟⲩϣⲱϫⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲧⲉⲣⲙⲟⲥ·
13 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϣ̀ϥ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ--ⲙ̄ⲙ̄--ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲙ
14 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ--ⲙ̀ⲛ̄--†ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲟϥ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲧ̄ⲥ
15 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛ̄†ⲥⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 4: 78:27-79:19

1 The fourth kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from a virgin
3 Solomon sought after her
4 he together with Phersalo and Sauel and his armies
which had been sent out
5 Solomon himself sent out his army of demons
6 to seek after the virgin
7 and they did not find the one whom they sought after
8 but the virgin who was given to them
9 she whom they brought took Solomon
10 the virgin became pregnant
11 she gave birth to the child at that place
12 she nourished him at a boundary mark of the desert
13 when he had been nourished he received glory and power
14 from the seed from which he had been begotten
15 and thus he came upon the water.

Through its length a very complicated strophe (the fact that strophes have varying length is mentioned briefly in the chapter on ancient Egyptian poetry). It is twice as long as the usual 7-line strophes. Several separations of the verses may be discussed, but the punctuation supports to some extent the proposed division. The accentuation in several verses is also uncertain. In spite of that it is possible that the metre of three feet is applicable even here. Verse 8 and the first part of verse 9 may be one verse and ⲁⲗⲗⲁ would in that case lose its accent. Accordingly all verses after the introduction except 13-14 begin with ⲁ.

A very uncertain metre:
Introduction 3:?
Verses 3:3:3:3:3:3:3:3:3:3.3:3
Refrain 3

Strophe 5: 79:19-27

1 ⲧⲙⲉϩⲧ--ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ--ⲉⲣⲟϥ

2 ⲭⲉ--ⲁϥⲱⲱⲛⲉ..ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̄ⲛ̄--ⲟⲩⲧ̄ⲭⲧⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲧⲡⲉ·

3 ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧϥ ⲉⲑⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ

4 ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲟⲡϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ

5 ⲁϥⲭⲡⲟϥ ⲁϥⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ

6 ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄--ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲙ·

7 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ̄--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 5: 79:19-27

1 And the fifth kingdom says about him

2 that he has become from a drop of the heaven

3 he was thrown into the sea

4 the depth received him

5 gave birth to him, brought him to the heaven

6 he received glory and power

7 and thus he came upon the water.

Once again a very regular 7-line strophe. The second verse of the introduction has four beats provided that ⲉⲃⲟⲗ is stressed. Verse 3 has three beats because the Greek accent of ⲑⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ is kept and is completed with a Coptic accent. All verses after the introduction begin with ⲁ. The infrequent punctuation is of no help in the division of the verses.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:3:3:3
Refrain 3

Strophe 6: 79:28-80:9

1 ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲥⲟ--ⲁⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ--ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ

2 ⲭⲉ--ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̅ⲗ̅ ⲗⲉⲧⲗ ⲉⲥⲣⲗⲁ̈ⲓ̈ ⲉⲡⲓⲉ̅ⲱⲙ̅ ⲉⲧ̈ⲥⲁⲥⲣⲁ̈ⲓ̈

ⲭⲉ--ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲁⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲥⲣⲙⲣⲉ·

3 ⲁⲥⲱⲱ̂--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̅ⲛ̅--ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲥⲣⲉⲣⲉ

4 ⲁⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ..ⲉⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ·

5 ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ--ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲑⲉⲱⲛⲟⲥ

6 ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲁ--ⲉⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅--ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ·

7 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛ̂ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲭ̅ⲙ̅--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 6: 79:28-80:9

1 And the sixth kingdom says

2 that a [ ]down to the aeon which is below

to spread flowers

3 she became pregnant of her desire for the flowers

4 she gave birth to him at that place

5 the angels of the floral splendour nourished him

6 he received glory at that place and power

7 and thus he came upon the water.

Probably another 7-line strophe. Because of the lacuna in the second verse of the introduction it is impossible to say anything concerning the number of metrical feet there. Another uncertainty is verse 6 which according to the metrical analysis has four beats. It is possible that it was originally constructed as verse 6 in strophes 7 and 8. ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ is in that case placed incorrectly in this verse, which originally may have had three beats. All the verses after the introduction begin with ⲁ. The punctuation confirms the division of the verses.

Metre:
Introduction 3:?
Verses 3:3:3:4(3?)
Refrain 3

Strophe 7: 80:9-20

1 ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲁⲩϥⲉ--ⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ--ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲥ--ⲉⲣⲟϥ

2 ϫⲉ--ⲟⲩⲧⲗⲧⲗⲉ--ⲡⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁ̄ⲛ̄--ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲙ--ⲡⲕⲁⲁ

3 ⲁⲩϫⲓⲧϥ--ⲉⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲁⲉⲛⲃⲛⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ--ⲁⲉⲛⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ

4 ⲁϥⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲟⲩ· ⲁⲩⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲓ--ⲉϫⲱϥ

5 ⲁϥϫⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ--ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲗⲧⲗⲉ ⲱⲟⲡⲉ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

6 ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ--ⲙ̄ⲙ̄--ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁ--ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·

7 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 7: 80:9-20

1 And the seventh kingdom says about him

2 that he is a drop, it came from the heaven to the earth

3 dragons brought him down into caves

4 he became a child, a spirit came upon him

5 brought him to the high place from which the drop had come

6 he received glory and power at that place

7 and thus he came upon the water.

Another 7-line strophe even if the division of the verses is somewhat uncertain, especially because of the punctuation in verse 4 and the four beats in verse 4 and 5. All the verses after the introduction begin with ⲁ.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:4:4:3
Refrain 3

Strophe 8: 80:20-29

1 ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ--ⲁⲉ ⲏⲛⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ--ⲙⲙⲟⲥ--ⲉⲣⲟϥ
2 ⲭⲉ--ⲁⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ..ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
3 ⲁⲥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ
4 ⲁϥⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲛⲧⲥ·
5 ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲛⲉⲓ--ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ--ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲭⲛ--ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
6 ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ--ⲙⲛ--ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ--ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ
7 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛⲧⲥⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 8: 80:20-29

1 And the eighth kingdom says about him
2 that a cloud came upon the earth
3 it surrounded a rock
4 he was begotten from it
5 the angels who were above the cloud nourished him
6 he received glory and power at that place
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Once again a 7-line strophe. All the verses after the introduction begin with ⲁ.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:3:3:3
Refrain 3

Strophe 9: 81:1-14

1 ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲯⲓⲧⲉ--ⲁⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ--ⲉⲣⲟϥ
2 ϫⲉ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ--ⲥ̀ⲛ--ⲧⲯⲓⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲓⲁⲱⲛ ⲁⲟⲩⲉ̀ⲓ ⲡⲱⲣϫ̀--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
3 ⲁⲥⲉ̀ⲓ ⲉϫ̀ⲛ--ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥϫⲟⲥⲉ
4 ⲁⲥ̄ⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲉⲥⲥⲙⲟⲟⲥ--ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ·
5 ⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉ̄ⲣⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ--ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲥ
6 ϫⲉ--ⲉⲥⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧ̀ ⲥⲥ̀ⲓⲙⲉ
7 ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
8 ⲁⲥⲱ̀--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̀ⲛ--ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ
9 ⲁⲩϫⲡⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓ--ⲛⲓⲁ̀ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ--ⲙⲙ
10 ⲉⲧⲥⲓ̀ϫⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ
11 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲙⲁ--ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙ--ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲙ·
12 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ̀ⲓ ⲉϫ̀ⲙ--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 9: 81:1-14

1 And the ninth kingdom says about him
2 that from the nine Muses one separated
3 she came upon a high mountain
4 she spent some time there
5 so that she desired herself
6 to become man-woman
7 she fulfilled her desire
8 and became pregnant from her desire
9 he was born, the angels nourished him
10 those who were over the desire
11 he received glory at that place and power
12 and thus he came upon the water.

Through its length a very complicated strophe. Not even the division of the verses is certain. In verse 6 is ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧⲥⲥ̀ⲓⲙⲉ presupposed to have two accents. In the verses 7,8 and 10 have ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ both Greek and Coptic accents by the inversion of the rule concerning accentuation of Greek loanwords in Coptic poetry. Verse 11 may originally be constructed as verse 6 in strophe 7 and 8. In that case it had three beats in the original version.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses: 3:3:3:3:3:3:3:4(3?)
Refrain 3

Strophe 10: 81:14-23

1 ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ--ⲉⲣⲟⲩ
2 ⲭⲉ--ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲃⲩⲙⲓⲁ
3 ⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲭ
4 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲉⲭ̄ⲛ̄--ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲉ--ⲉⲣⲟⲩ
5 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄--ⲧⲧ̄ⲗ̄ⲧⲗⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟⲩ·
6 ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ--ⲙ̄ⲙ̄--ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ--ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
7 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ͡ⲓ ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ̄--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 10: 81:14-23

1 The tenth kingdom says about him
2 that his god loved a cloud of desire
3 he brought him forth in his hand
4 and he threw out to the cloud near him
5 from the drop and he was born
6 he received glory and power at that place
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Another 7-line strophe, but the separation of the verses 5-6 is uncertain. The division of the other verses is confirmed by the punctuation and the structure of the strophes. All the verses after the introduction begin with ⲁ except verse 5.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:3:3:3
Refrain 3

Strophe 11: 81::24-82:4

1 ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉ--ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
2 ⲭⲉ--ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲫ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲭⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲁ̀ⲧⲥ
3 ⲁⲥⲱⲱ̂ ⲉⲱⲱⲥ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙ--ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲓⲱⲧ̀
4 ⲁⲥⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲗ ⲓⲩⲗ ⲓⲩⲙⲉⲟⲩ
5 ⲗ ⲓⲙ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲓ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲙⲙⲟⲥ
6 ⲁⲡⲁⲣ̀ⲣⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲭ ⲙ̂ⲡⲙⲁ--ⲉⲧⲙ̂ⲙⲁⲩ·
7 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲙ̂ⲧⲉ ⲁⲭⲉⲓ̀ ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ:

Strophe 11: 81:24-82:4

1 And the eleventh kingdom says
2 that the father desired his own daughter
3 she became pregnant herself by her father
4 she threw [ ]tomb
5 [ ] in the desert
6 the angel nourished him at that place
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Once again a 7-line strophe whose metre however is incomplete because of the lacunae in the verses 4 and 5. The verses after the introduction begin with ⲁ. Note the peculiar punctuation after verse 7 which only occurs here and in 85:18.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:?:?:3
Refrain 3

Strophe 12: 82:4-10

1 ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ--ⲉⲣⲟⲩ
2 ⲭⲉ--ⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ..ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄..ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ·
3 ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ̀ⲩ..ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
4 ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ--ⲙ̀ⲙ̄--ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲙ
5 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ̀ ⲉⲭ̀ⲙ̄--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

Strophe 12: 82:4-10

1 The twelfth kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from two illuminators
3 he was nourished there
4 he received glory and power
5 and thus he came upon the water.

This strophe is different from the preceding, firstly because of its length, it has only five verses and secondly because the hymn seems to have a different metre here. According to Böhlig the hymn with strophe 12 is at a new and higher level. Here is for the first time a divine origin of the illuminator mentioned. This may confirm the change of metre. The change of metre is also confirmed by the peculiar double punctuation at the end of strophe 11. Verse 2 may have four beats if **ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** is stressed or if **ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ** has two accents, one Coptic and one Greek. All the verses after the introduction begin with **ⲁ**. The division of the verses is confirmed by the punctuation.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 2:2
Refrain 3

Strophe 13: 82:10-19

1 ϯⲙⲉⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲟⲙⲧⲉ--ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲥ--ⲉⲣⲟϥ

2 ⲭⲉ--ⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲥⲉ..ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ--ⲡⲉ·

3 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲯ--ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ--ⲉⲧⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ--ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ·

4 ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ--ⲙ̀ⲙ̄--ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ·

5 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ̀ ⲉⲭ̀ⲙ̄--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ

6 ⲥⲓⲛⲁ--ⲭⲉ--ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲟⲙ·

Strophe 13: 82:10-19

1 And the thirteenth kingdom says about him

2 that every birth of their sovereign is a word

3 and this word received a destiny at that place

4 he received glory and power

5 and thus he came upon the water

6 to conjoin the desire of those powers.

This strophe diverges from the other through the addition of a verse after the refrain. This verse has three or four beats. It may be an extension of an original shorter version of the hymn together with strophe 14 which has a very irregular metre. The fact that only thirteen kingdoms are mentioned at page 73 (and in GEgypt are only thirteen aeons mentioned) may indicate that the end of strophe 13 and strophe 14 are an extension of the hymn. The division of the verses is rather certain because of the punctuation. The verses after the introduction begin with ⲁ except verse 6 after the refrain.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:2
Refrain 3
Verse 6 3(4)

Strophe 14: 82:19-83:4

1 ⲧⲣⲉⲛⲉⲁ--ⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧ̀ⲣ̀ ⲣ̀ⲣⲟ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲭⲱⲥ ⲭⲱ--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ

2 ⲭⲉ--ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ⲡ̄--ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄--ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ--ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

3 ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ

4 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲡⲓⲁⲧ̀ⲭⲱⲥⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲧⲙⲉ

5 ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧϥ·

6 ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲭⲉ--ⲁⲩⲉ̀ⲓ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

7 ⲥ̄ⲛ̄--ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲯ̄ⲙⲙⲟ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

8 ⲥ̄ⲛ̄--ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ

9 ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ--ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ·

10 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲓ | ⲧⲣⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ--ⲉⲧ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲣ̄--ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ--ⲛⲏ

11 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲧⲡⲟⲩ--ⲛⲁϥ ⲁⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄--ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ̄--ⲡⲓⲉⲱⲛ--ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄

Strophe 14: 82:19-83:4

1 And the generation without a king over it says

2 that the god chose him from all the aeons

3 he caused knowledge

4 of the undefiled of the truth

5 to come in his heart

6 he said that he came

7 from a foreign air

8 from the great illuminators

9 great aeon

10 and the generation of those men shone

11 those whom he had chosen for him so that they should shine upon the whole aeon.

This strophe is very different from all the others. It deals with the answer of the generation without a king, i.e. those who possess gnosis. The introduction is different, the strophe is without refrain and the division of the verses is uncertain. The end of the strophe is however confirmed by the following τότε. It is possible that all the verses have two beats. Verses 6-7 may be one verse with diverging metre which is common for ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ-verses in Coptic poetry. The end of the strophe seems to stand by itself as far as metre is concerned.

Very much is uncertain concerning strophe 14 but the following metre is most likely:

Introduction ?:4
Verses 2:2:2:2:2:2:2
The end ?:?

Comments on the metrical analysis

The separation of the strophes is certain. Each verse is usually a natural unity. The content of each verse shows where the verse begins and ends. Punctuation has no grammatical function in Coptic but is used in a free way as a poetical instrument. The division of the verses in the hymn is confirmed by the punctuation. Where punctuation is used a verse ends. The double punctuation at the end of strophe 11 confirms that the hymn changes character and metre from strophe 12.

The verses usually have three beats and the strophes with four verses have therefore the metre 3:3+3:3. This regularity cannot be accidental. Finally, the strophes form an unsophisticated kind of achrostichon since all verses usually begin with ⲁ.

Conclusion from the metrical analysis

1. The metre in the hymn is regular. The introductions to each strophe have the metre 3:4, the verses have three beats with a few exceptions which have two or four beats. From strophe 12 when the answers of the strophes are given at a new level the metre is changed. The refrain follows after the first thirteen strophes and has three beats. The hymn is concluded by a strophe whose metre seems to diverge from the earlier variants.

2. The analysis of the prosody of the hymn makes it probable that the hymn was in cultic use in its Coptic form. According to the rules of liturgical use of Coptic hymns which have been presented by Junker and Säve-Söderbergh in their analysis of Coptic hymns and poetry, one or two alternate cantors sang the introduction of the strophes and the verses and then the whole community answered with the refrain.

3. The hymnic section belongs intimately to the rest of ApocAd. The answer in the strophes of the hymn presuppose the question before the hymn: Where did the illuminator come from? The question on its part presupposes the text at least from 76:8, i.e. where the third part of ApocAd begins with: "Once again,for the third time, the illuminator of knowledge will pass ...". Consequently the hymn places the whole ApocAd in a cultic context.

4. The metre 3:3+3:3 together with verses of two beats is a common metre in Mandaean prayers and hymns, but it also occurs in early Aramaic and Syrian poetry. This metre occurs also in ancient Egyptian hymns. It is consequently also an Egyptian metre and the hymn might be an Egyptian composition. It cannot be certain that the metre followed the hymn in the translation from Greek into Coptic.

5. The length of the strophes 2, 4, and 9 are obviously different from the length of the other strophes. It might also be argued that the content of these strophes diverge from the other through the biblical

characters and the Greek divinities. At least strophe 2 has also linguistic peculiarities as ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲥ and ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲟ. It is not impossible that these strophes are an extension of an original hymn of eleven strophes if strophe 14 is included. Strophe 14 describes the answer of the chosen generation and in strophes 12 and 13 there is no desire involved in the coming of the illuminator. There remain eight strophes in this hypothetical consideration. Is there a connection here with the atmosphere and the seven planet spheres with their sovereigns, the seven archons. Is there any allusion to the seven planets in the strophes 3,5,6,7,8,10 and 11? Strophe 1 has a lacuna in the beginning. Strophe 3 should correspond to the moon. The strophe has a parallel in the apocalypse of the New Testament 12:1 etc., where the woman appeared in the sky with the moon under her feet. The woman fled into the desert where she was nourished during 1260 days. Strophe 5 should correspond to Venus, Astraphaio in the Apocryphon of John, the guardian of all water. Strophe 6 has a lacuna in verse 2. Strophe 7 could correspond to the sun, Sabaoth in the Apocryphon of John, which has a face of a dragon. This hypothesis has almost no importance in our research but it might be mentioned in passing.

Erman and Fecht on ancient Egyptian (as distinct from Coptic) poetry

All archaic Egyptian literature can be divided into short sentences. In the New Kingdom these sentences are separated with dots which also are used as punctuation in prosaic texts. These short sentences, lines, verses, are a sign of a metrical construction of the text according to Adolf Erman. Often three or four sentences are connected with each other and constitute a strophe. The poems have often the peculiarity that each strophe begins with the same word. This custom does not appear in late Egyptian poetry. The strophes may have different number of verses and still be regarded as poetical strophes. The constructions of the strophes are more free than in the classical poetry we are familiar with.

Erman was however unable to say anything about the metre in ancient Egyptian poems. He thought that each essential word (noun, adjective and verb) may have had one stressed syllable (as in Coptic). In that case the ancient Egyptian verses had 2-4 beats. This free prosody might according to Erman be the prosody which the early Coptic poetry took over.[1]

Gerard Fecht has developed Erman's theory and in convincing articles he has elaborated the metrical rules of ancient Egyptian poetry.[2] Egyptian verses have two or three beats according to these rules, in

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[1] Cf. Erman, A. Die Literatur der Aegypter.
An example of ancient Egyptian metres is a hymn to Re from the end of Dyn. XVIII. The same metre as in the hymnic section of ApocAd. See appendix.

[2] Cf. Fecht, G. Die Form der altägyptischen Literatur: Metrische und stilistische Analyse.

exceptional cases one or four beats. A number of verses constitute a group and more than one group of verses constitute a strophe if the text is long enough. To describe all the rules of ancient Egyptian poetry would distract from the subject, it is enough to establish that the metrical analysis of the hymnic section in ApocAd is compatible with the possibility that the metre in the hymn is an ancient Egyptian metre. The analysis does not prove that this is the case, nor does it make it more plausible than other alternatives, but there is nothing against the possibility that the metre of the hymn is an ancient Egyptian metre. The hymn in ApocAd is in that case the utmost link between Coptic poetry and ancient Egyptian poetry.

The structure of the hymnic section

Böhlig showed that there is a rising line in the different answers of the kingdoms in his presentation of the text 1963, the answers to the question where the illuminator came from.[1]

Strophe 1:	? because of the lacuna.
Strophe 2:	From a great prophet.
Strophe 3:	From a virgin womb.
Strophe 4:	From the virgin of Solomon.
Strophe 5:	From a drop of heaven.
Strophe 6:	From somebody who became pregnant of her desire for the flowers, the lacuna unfortunately conceals the being who became pregnant.
Strophe 7:	The illuminator is a drop from the heaven.
Strophe 8:	From a cloud which surrounded a rock.
Strophe 9:	From one of the nine Muses.
Strophe 10:	From his god who loved a cloud of desire.
Strophe 11:	From the daughter who became pregnant by her father.
Strophe 12:	From two illuminators.
Strophe 13:	From the sovereign who gave birth to a word.
Strophe 14:	The god chose him from all the aeons.

The strophes (1)2-4 mention a human origin, 5-9 a heavenly origin, 10-13 a divine origin and 12-13 without any desire involved. Strophe 14 is the summit, the god chose the illuminator.

The GEgypt (NHC III,2 and NHC IV,2) mentions 13 aeons in 63:18 and 64:4 and the fragmentary Marsanes (NHC X,1) contains mention of a journey to the highest heavenly reality through explanations of 13 seals. Accordingly the answers of the kingdoms in the hymn may be an expression for a stratified reality of 13 aeons with different participation

[1] Cf. Böhlig, A. Die Koptisch-Gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi.

in the light of truth. The answers to the question about the origin of the light are mythological. That the man whom "the spirit which is holy" has come upon should be a historical person as G.M. Shellrude argues is not confirmed by the hymn, which in a mythological way describes different levels of self-consciousness, different degrees of knowledge about the divine origin of the soul.The illuminator in the sense of the hymn is hardly a light which came upon a historical person, it is rather a matter of divine light in each man. Complete participation in the light cannot be reached by man, it is a pure gift, a matter of election as strophe 14 says. The light in itself is a gift, the knowledge of the divine origin of the soul is varying and it is this variation which is described through the 14 kingdoms. Passing through the hymn one gets higher and higher knowledge of the light through the answers and maybe also through the baptismal expression ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ϯⲁⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲏ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ, "and thus he came upon the water". The question before the hymn probably has the origin of the inner light in view, which worries the powers. The powers try to destroy this inner light by punishing the flesh of man. This interpretation of the fourteen answers shows that the illuminator is a mythological character as Adam is in the introduction of the tractate.

Significance of water in the hymn

Water has a very important function in ApocAd, both the water of death and of life. Water has also a conspicuous function in the hymnic section. The refrain runs: "and thus he came upon the water". This expression occurs also in Zostrianos (NHC VIII,1) 18:2-3 and is probably a reference to baptism (cf. also NHC VIII,1 17:1-5). Each strophe in the hymn (except strophe 14) is concluded with an expression which might be a baptismal expression!

We have also the peculiar sign ⊤ between the strophes. Similar hieratic and demotic signs are discussed below. Note also the Egyptian expression wnn ḥr mw=being upon the water, i.e. being loyal subjects, from Dyn. XVIII.[1]

The context of the hymn

The limits of the hymn are clear. The section which follows the hymn begins with τότε as the section before the hymn which contains the question which is answered by the kingdoms. Despite the clear limits of the hymn it is obvious that the hymn belongs to the original ApocAd. The hymnic section is an essential element of the third part of ApocAd. The different answers of the kingdoms are answers to the question which according to the tractate is most essential for man: where did the light of knowledge which now has come for the third (and last) time, come from?

[1] Cf. Steindorff, G. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV 1098-9.

After the hymn follows the mythological story about the recognition by the people of those with the knowledge of truth, i.e. the generation without a king in the hymn..

From this it follows that the hymn is an essential part of ApocAd and that it continues the text. Neither does the language of the hymn separate it from the rest of the text. The fact that the hymn is inseparable from the rest of the text is an important conclusion in our effort to understand ApocAd and its Sitz im Leben.

Böhlig suggested in his presentation of the text 1963 that the hymn might be an excursus of the real apocalypse. If that is the case, the conversion of the people comes directly after the punishment of the flesh of the man by the powers and not as now, after the answer of the fourteenth kingdom. This is hardly possible. 83:6 is also a direct allusion to the recurrent refrain in the hymn. The hymn is simply impossible to understand without the preceding story about the third arrival of the illuminator and the following section is impossible to understand without the hymn. It is only in one way the hymn is different from the preceding text. It is an extension of the mythological material, it moves away from the world of Genesis.

Conclusion of Part II

The papyrus used to thicken the leather covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices, the palaeographic studies of ApocAd and the chronological facts we have concerning the origin of the Coptic language show that ApocAd cannot have been in use for long in its Coptic version. The metrical analysis is therefore quite certain. I.e., there is no reason to doubt that the text we have access to is more or less identical with the original version.

The metrical analysis of the hymnic section shows that the hymn has a regular metre. The dominating metre after the introduction (3:4) is 3:3+3:3, an Mandaean,[1] Syrian, Aramaic and ancient Egyptian metre. It

[1] The metrical form of the hymnic section is consequently a common Mandaean metre. Micheu, Michar and Mnesinous are destructive characters in NHC V,5 84:5 as they are in Mandaeism and finally have the bath which is holy, baptism, important functions in ApocAd and in the Mandaeism. Consequently there are at least three independent factors which indicate a connection between ApocAd and the Mandaeans. Here the Egyptian background is considered but the Mandaean question is worthy of mention.
Cf. Böhlig, A. Mysterion und Wahrheit.
Böhlig, A. Die Adamapokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi als zeugnis jüdisch-iranischer Gnosis in Oriens Christianus 47 1963.
Drower, E.S. The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans.
Drower, E.S. The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran.
Drower, E.S. The secret Adam. A study of Nasoraean Gnosis.
Rudolph, K. Der Mandäismus in der neueren Gnosisforschung in Gnosis, Festschrift für Hans Jonas p. 244 etc..
Rudopih, K. Coptica-Mandaica. Zu einigen übereinstimmungen zwischen Koptisch-Gnostischen und Mandäischen Texten in NHS VI p. 191 etc..
Segelberg, E. Masbuta. Studies in the Ritual of the Mandaean Baptism.

is therefore possible that the hymnic section in ApocAd is the utmost link between Coptic and ancient Egyptian poetry.

The strophes, which from a metrical point of view are similar, might be a shorter original version of the hymn, but on the other hand the length of the strophes is insignificant in for example ancient Egyptian poetry.

From the metrical analysis follows with certainty that the hymn was in cultic use in its Coptic version. The context of the hymn indicates that the whole tractate is connected with a cult. The cult which ApocAd must have been connected with is probably a form of baptism if we consider the function of the water in the text. The question which now remains and which is the issue of part III and IV is if it is possible to find out how the text was used in the cult.

Segelberg, E. The pihta and mambuha prayers. To the question of the liturgical development among mandaeans in Gnosis, Festschrift für Hans Jonas p. 464 etc..

III THE CONCLUSION OF APOCAD

NHC V,5 85:19-32

The text

85:
19 These are the revelations which
20 Adam showed Seth his
21 son. And his son taught
22 his seed. This is the
23 secret knowledge of Adam
24 which he gave to Seth, which
25 is the bath which is holy, for those who
26 know the eternal knowledge
27 through the logosborn
28 and the uncorrupted illuminators who
29 came from the holy seed:
30 Jesseus, Mazareus, Jesse-
31 dekeus. The water which is life.
32 The Apocalypse of Adam.

Further remarks about the hymnic section

It is almost certain that the hymn is prosodic. The most common metre in the hymn is 3:3+3:3. The conclusion from that is that the hymn has been sung in its Coptic version.

We have also the peculiar sign ⊤ which the scribe put in the margin between the strophes,[1] at least from the end of strophe 4. The sign might

[1] This thesis deals with the sign ⊤ first of all as a division between the strophes. The ⊤-sign has the same function in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 15:11 ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲉϩϣⲟⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ "Once again it came, the third power ...". It is more difficult to know if it has this function in NHC V,3 39:8 because of the lacunae.

It is worth noting that it is a hieratic sign which reminds of the ⊤-sign in ApocAd, namely the hieroglyphic 𓊪 which in the second century A.D. was written 𓊪 in hieratic writing, or 𓊪 at the beginning of the Christian era. In Demotic 𓊪 or 𓊪. A similar sign 𓊪 means libation. This becomes interesting if the meaning of these signs is considered. 𓊪 is determinative in 𓊪 𓈖 𓊪 hst, which means water-pot. 𓊪 snbt has the same meaning. 𓊪 is also determinative in 𓊪 kbh which means libation. 𓊪 is also phonogram in 𓊪 / 𓊪 hsi=sing, praise, singer and in 𓊪 ir

have been used earlier in the text but it is impossible to say anything certain because of the lacunae. From the end of strophe 4 the sign is written between all strophes where the papyrus is intact. NHS has not observed all of them. First between strophes 13 and 14. The MS shows a faint but clear ⊤. NHS has also missed the sign between the strophes 9 and 10. There is also a faint line between 83:3 and 4 which might be a ⊤ -sign after strophe 14.

Lectio continua is used in the Nag Hammadi library and these signs (⊤) must have helped the singer to notice the change of strophe. The sign confirms the result of the metrical analysis: the hymn has been sung in its Coptic version. The sign might also have had another liturgical function as suggested in note 1 at page 109.

In the metrical analysis of the hymnic section double punctuation between the strophes 11 and 12 is mentioned. There is another double punctuation in ApocAd, namely at the end of 85:18 and from 85:19 the conclusion of the whole apocalypse begins. Moreover, the sign ⊤ is written in the margin between 85:18 and 85:19. It is not clear but perceptible. The double punctuation between 85:18 and 85:19 and the sign ⊤ in the margin and the rhythmical character of the conclusion makes it very plausible that another short hymnic section occurs here. Erman showed in his metrical analysis of Coptic poetry at the turn of the century that prosaic texts were given metrical form in the sections of the text which was especially important. The text was recited, but the important sections were sung, perhaps as an antiphon.[1] This argumentation by Erman is very applicable to ApocAd and its hymnic sections. The conclusion of ApocAd is a concentration of the whole text, this is the revelation. It could be said that it is the most important section of the whole apocalypse. If any section was sung because of its importance it was 85:19 etc..

From Erman's reasoning we may also draw some conclusions concerning the hymnic section. The writer and the readers cannot have considered the hymnic section as something peripheral to the tractate. On the contrary they considered the hymnic section so important that the answers of the kingdoms were given metrical form and therefore the hymnic section was sung by a cantor and a community. The hymnic section must be placed side by side with the conclusion of the apocalypse in consideration of its importance. The conclusion is a concentration of the whole tractate.

At least two sections in the text have consequently been sung. This is not an unimportant achievement in this effort to understand the Sitz im Leben of the text.

hst=perform the cult. Is the ⊤-sign in ApocAd a hieratic/demotic instruction to the singer to sing or an instruction to use the water in the water-pot?

[1] Cf. Erman, A. Bruchstucke Koptischer Volksliteratur.

At least two sections in the text have consequently been sung. This is not an unimportant achievement in this effort to understand the Sitz im Leben of the text.

The metre in the conclusion of ApocAd

The metrical analysis of the hymn as presented earlier, rests on relatively firm ground as we have access to several strophes whose metre can be compared and thus come to a probable common metre. The conclusion of ApocAd is rather more difficult. There is nothing with which any possible metre can be compared but the suggestion given here could eventually give the only logical metre. This metrical analysis does not however prove that the material under observation is metrically bound. Various factors, i.e. double punctuation after 85:18 and the ⸗ -sign before 85:19 plus the fact that there is nothing to hinder a metrical conclusion being construed, makes it very likely that the text is metrical and also is to be sung.

1 ⸗ⲛⲁⲓ..ⲛⲉ--ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ
2 ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲉⲁⲗⲡⲟⲩ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥ̄ⲏ̄ⲃ̄--ⲡⲉⲭⲱⲛⲣⲉ
3 ⲁⲩⲱ--ⲁⲡⲉⲭⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲭⲥ ⲡⲟⲣⲁ--ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ·
4 ⲧⲁⲓ..ⲧⲉ--ϯⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ
5 ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲕⲣⲩⲫⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ--ⲁⲁⲁⲙ
6 ⲉⲧⲁⲭⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥ̄ⲏ̄ⲃ̄·
7 ⲉⲧⲉ--ⲡⲓⲯⲱⲕⲙ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ--ⲡⲉ
8 ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ--ⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ϯⲣⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ..ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉⲉ
9 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ--ⲉ̄ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲗⲟⲅⲟⲅⲉⲛⲛⲟⲥ
10 ⲙ̄ⲙ̄--ⲛⲓⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲕⲟ
11 ⲙⲙ--ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ̂ⲓ--ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̄ⲛ̄--ϯⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ..ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
12 ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲩⲥ ⲙⲁⲍⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲇⲉⲕⲉⲩⲥ
13 ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ--ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲉ
14 ⸗ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲁⲙ

1 These are the revelations
2 which Adam showed Seth his son
3 and his son taught his seed
4 this is the knowledge
5 the secret of Adam
6 which he gave to Seth
7 which is the bath which is holy
8 for those who know the eternal knowledge
9 through the logosborn
10 and the incorrupted illuminators
11 who came from the holy seed:
12 Jesseus, Mazareus, Jessedekeus
13 the water which is life
14 the apocalypse of Adam.

The first three verses serve as an introduction to the conclusion. Each of them have three beats. Then there are four verses which have two beats and four verses with two or three beats. It is impossible to be certain. The three last verses seem to be completely independent. The metre of the conclusion seems to be similar to the metre of the hymnic section. A possible metre is consequently:

Introduction 3:3:3
Verses 4-7 2:2+2:2
Verses 8-11 2:2+2:2 or 3:3+3:3
Conclusion ?

The analysis of Coptic poetry 1897 by Adolf Erman

Erman did a work of epoch-making importance at the turn of the century when he succeeded to elucidate the rules of Coptic poetry from the tenth century. It was also Erman who came to the conclusion that Coptic texts with a metrical form certainly have been sung. From the fact that we have a prosaic Coptic text in which one or several poetical sections are integral parts he also drew the conclusion that such a text

constituted a drama,[1] that the text becomes understandable only together with a dramatization. Song was, according to Erman, used to emphasize important sections in the text, in the drama.[2] In the text under consideration the conclusion at least was sung and also the answers of the kingdoms. Whether there are any more hymnic sections in the apocalypse is an open question, but in part C there are another two sections which have rhythmical character.

Accordingly ApocAd may be considered as a dramatic text, a text accompanied by a dramatic performance which elucidates the text and vice versa. The drama of ApocAd may be a presentation and illustration of the Adam and Noah mythology and the salvation through the illuminator and the bath which is holy. In this way primaeval states and "future" salvation are made present. It is easy to imagine ApocAd in a dramatic context. There are many monologues and dialogues interrupted by what might be changes of scenes and explanations of them. For the moment this remains a theory. If this statement is to be proved it would be necessary to compare the structure of ApocAd with ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. It seems however very plausible that the text has been used in connection with some cultic action and regarding the content of the text, this cult must have had a close connection to Gnostic baptism. There are three essential elements of baptism in the text; water, fire and spirit. The first part of the tractate consists of a mythological description of man which is the background, the reason why salvation through the bath which is holy is necessary. It is possible that ApocAd is a Gnostic drama of baptism, a primitive stage of formalized liturgy. The hypothesis of Erman that a prosaic text with poetical sections indicates that the text has been used in a cultic drama, makes this possible.

Two facts from the introduction of this research remain:

1. The manuscript.
a. The language.
b. The content of the text.
2. The place of discovery.

Up to now, the MS has been almost exclusively dealt with. The place of the discovery, i.e. Upper Egypt, will now be approached. Many scholars seem to have forgotten that ApocAd and the rest of the Nag

[1] One might discuss if the word drama is appropriate as definition of the ancient Egyptian cult. There are obviously contradictory opinions concerning the ancient Egyptian cult, if it can be described as a drama or not. It is not necessary to take part in that discussion here. It is ancient Egyptian cult and the structure of ancient Egyptian texts with connection to the cult which are relevant here and by practical reasons the words drama and dramatic are used. The word drama has therefore nothing to do with drama in a modern sense as a theatrical performance produced in all details. We will return to this issue in the conclusion.

[2] Cf. Erman, A. Bruchstücke Koptischer Volksliteratur.

Hammadi library was found in Upper Egypt and that it obviously was translated and used there.

To undertake a comparison in Egypt itself and to analyse whether there are any similarities between ApocAd and ancient Egyptian dramatic texts might be a help in understanding how ApocAd was used in Egypt. What function did the drama have for the performance of different cults up until the second and third century? What function did the community have, did they participate in the drama or were they just audience in the modern meaning? Did the priests participate in the mythological performance? Was the Egyptian drama a way to make the myth present? Which function had the song, the music and the dance?[1] All these questions are important if a more complete understanding of the function of ApocAd in Egypt during the fourth century is to be reached, but here the consideration will be limited to the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts and if this structure is applicable to ApocAd.

Nomina sacra

To return to the Nag Hammadi texts before continuing the consideration of the Egyptian background of our text: Nomina sacra in Coptic are marked with a horizontal line above them. First of all frequent nomina sacra which are abbreviated. For example ⲓ̅ⲥ̅, ⲥⲱⲣ̅ and ⲡⲛⲁ̅ as in ApocAd. The nomina sacra-line is however used in a quite different way in the rest of ApocAd and in other texts in the Nag Hammadi library. Here the nomina sacra-line is also used above non -abbreviated names. In this way it is possible to see which of the mythological characters the writer considered as "holy", for example ⲥⲏⲑ̅, ⲁ̅ⲉⲩⲕⲁⲁⲭⲓⲱⲛ̅, ⲭⲁⲙ̅, ⲥⲁⲕⲁⲁ̅ and who had not this status, for example ⲛⲱⲃⲉ (except in 76:12 where the seed of Noah received the gifts of the illuminator) and ⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ.

There is however a peculiar phenomenon in the tractate concerning the important human characters Adam and Eve which is worth mentioning. Sometimes they have the nomina sacra-line above their names, sometimes not, and it seems that the scribe did not use the nomina sacra-line in an accidental way.

Adam occurs in the following lines in ApocAd: 64:1,2 66:2,17 and 85:20,23 and 32. Neither in the title, nor in the first line of the tractate there is any nomina sacra-line. But in 66:2,17 after Adam saw the three

[1] According to Erman Coptic texts with a metrical form have been sung. The hymn in ApocAd has almost the same number of beats in all verses of the strophes. It is impossible to be certain concerning the function of music when the hymn was sung, but that a hymn with this regular metre has been performed without use of the Egyptian instrument sistrum seems unlikely, especially if the close connection between sistrum and cult during the Greek-Roman period in Egypt is considered.
Cf. Bonnet, H. Reallexikon Der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte.
Helck, W und Otto,E. Lexikon der Ägyptologie.

great men in 65:25, the line is used. There are also nomina sacra-lines above the name of Adam in the conclusion, also in the last line of the conclusion. MacRae has not the nomina sacra-line in this last line but it is visible in the MS and Böhlig marked it in his edition from 1963. So far it could be a coincidence that there is no nomina sacra-line above Adam in the introduction but after the revelation of the three great men.

Eve occurs in the following lines: 64:8,26 65:3,12 66:8,13,27 (27 however very fragmentary) and in 69:16. Here the same pattern occurs as in the nomina sacra-line above Adam. After the revelation of the three great men the nomina sacra-line is used. However 64:26 and 69:16 diverge. This pattern, even if it is not completely clear, might indicate that the nomina sacra-line is used after Adam and Eve received gnosis (cf. also the nomina sacra-line above Noah in 76:12). This might also explain why the nomina sacra-line is used in the conclusion but not in the introduction.

The Nag Hammadi texts show a very varying carefulness concerning the nomina sacra-lines. If the two versions of GEgypt, i.e. NHC III,2 and NHC IV,2 are compared, it will be found that NHC III,2 uses the nomina sacra-line with great arbitrariness while NHC IV,2 uses it very carefully and very accurately. NHC IV,2 is also an older and more reliable version even if it is very fragmentary. The purpose of the peculiar way in which ApocAd uses the nomina sacra-line may be discussed but it is very plausible that the way in which it is used has a particular meaning. Adam has obviously gone through a fundamental transformation during the text so that he becomes worthy the nomina sacra-line. However, it is not possible to know for certain if the use of the nomina sacra-line is an indication of how the text has been used.

ApocAd and the Gospel of the Egyptians

The mythological elements which constitute the conclusion of ApocAd are also found in the conclusion of GEgypt. The parallel to the end of the conclusion (ApocAd 85:30 etc.) however, is not in the conclusion of GEgypt but in NHC III,2 64:10 etc. and 66:10 etc.: "Jesseu, Mazareu, Jessedekeu, the water which is life".

The conclusion of NHC III,2 translated from Coptic

68

Truly (ἀληθῶς), truly (ἀληθῶς). This is the book (βίβλος)
which the great Seth wrote. He put
it on high mountains over which

the sun has not risen. Nor (οὐδέ)
is it possible. And since the days
of the prophets (προφήτης) and the apostles (ἀπόστολος) and
the preachers (κῆρυξ) has not the name at all (ὅλως) risen
over their heart, nor (οὔτε) is it possible.
And their ear has not heard it.
The great Seth wrote his book (βίβλος)
with letters in one hundred and thirty
years. He put it at the mountain,
it is called
Charaxio: to come forth (προελθεῖν) at the end of the
times (χρόνος) and the opportunities (καιρός) according to the
will (θέλημα) of the divine Autogenes (αυτογενής)
and the whole fullness (πλήρωμα), through
the gift of the fatherly love, untraceable,
unthinkable.
It will be revealed for this
incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) holy generation (γενεά)
of the great saviour (σωτήρ), and for those
who dwell with them in love (αγάπη), and
the great invisible (ἀφθαρτος) eternal
spirit (πνεῦμα) and his only begotten (μονογενής)
son and the eternal light

69

and his great incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) wife (σύζυγος)
and the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος)
wisdom (σοφία) and Barbelon and
all fullness (πλήρωμα) in eternity.

5 Amen (ἀμήν).

6 The gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) of Egyptians.

7 The godwritten, holy (ἱερά),

8 secret book (βίβλος). The grace (χάρις),

9 understanding (σύνεσις), perception (αἴσθησις), prudence (φρόνησις) and

10 the one who wrote it, Eugnostos,

11 the beloved (ἀγαπητικός) in spirit (πνεῦμα) , in the flesh (σάρξ) is

12 my name Gongessos, and my

13 light-friends in incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία)

14 Jesus Christ (Ιησοῦς χριστός), son of god,

15 the saviour (σωτήρ), ιχθγc. Godwritten (θεόγραφος)

16 is the holy (ἱερά) book (βίβλος) of the great

17 invisible (ἀόρατον) spirit (πνεῦμα).

18 Amen (ἀμήν).

Once again the text which precedes the conclusion of ApocAd, i.e. NHC V,5 85:1 etc. should be considered:

"Their fruit does not wither. But they will become known to the great aeons, because the words, which they protected, of the god of the aeons, were not put in the book, nor were they written. But angelic beings will bring them, whom all the generations of men will be ignorant of. For they will be upon a high mountain, on a rock of truth. Therefore they will be named: The words of incorruption and truth of those who know the eternal god in wisdom of knowledge and teaching of eternal angels. He knows everything".

ApocAd is older than GEgypt (NHC III,2). This is indicated by the Greek loanwords which are more frequent in GEgypt than in ApocAd. Greek loanwords are almost twice as many in GEgypt as in ApocAd. In the conclusion of GEgypt Coptic words are very few and Greek loanwords in the majority. It is most likely that the knowledge of the Greek language was less spread in the Sahidic-speaking area when ApocAd was written than when GEgypt was written.

It could be said that GEgypt is a development of the mythology and the soteriology which is found in ApocAd.[1] The conclusion of GEgypt which was rendered above is consequently a conclusion of the same soteriology which is met within ApocAd. In spite of that the conclusions of the two tractates apparently diverge from each other, as regards language and content: ApocAd speaks about the words of god of the aeons which were not put in the book, nor were they written, and angelic beings will bring them to a high mountain. In GEgypt the words are written by Seth with letters and the book was put on the Charaxio mountain to come forth at the end of time and be revealed to the incorruptible holy generation. In ApocAd the holy words are an inner undescribable and unwritten experience of those who have gnosis, and who have received the bath which is holy.

Briefly: GEgypt claims to be something which ApocAd considers as impossible to show with letters. ApocAd points to an experience which is possible to undergo in the bath which is holy. GEgypt claims to be that experience, it is godwritten. It might also be mentioned that Jesus occurs several times in GEgypt and as we saw he also occurs in the conclusion, but ApocAd has no clear Christian features.[2] Because of linguistic arguments, because there is no clear Christian influence and because of the fact that ApocAd as a text does not claim to be the divine message as GEgypt does, it seems very plausible that ApocAd is an older expression of the soteriology which it has in common with GEgypt.

It has been mentioned several times that it is most likely that ApocAd is to be understood from the fact that its function was in a cultic context. From what has been said above follows that this cultic context must be very early in the Nag Hammadi chronology, perhaps so early that it has coexisted with the christianizing of Upper Egypt and with the last phase of the ancient Egyptian religion.

Myth and rite in Egypt

The fact that ApocAd was discovered in Upper Egypt has not been considered by scholars, but the Egyptian background to the movement which used ApocAd cannot be unimportant. Therefore as an introduction to the further analysis of the tractate some brief remarks concerning the relationships between myth and rite in Egypt must be made.Eberhard Otto showed that there is no close connection between myth and rite in ancient Egyptian cult, i.e., a mythology in for example a hymn, was not bound to a particular rite and a particular rite did not presuppose a particular mythology. The explanation of this according to Otto is that the rites are much older than the mythologies which later changed the

[1] Cf. The introductions to the texts in NHS XI and NHS IV.

[2] Cf. The chapter ApocAd in relation to the New Testament.

meaning of the rites. These free relationships between rite and myth are according to Otto obvious inasmuch as:

1. That there are ritual texts which do not have any myths. These are according to Otto very old.

2. That myth and rite often change, i.e. a rite has not always the same myth and vice versa.

3. That an action in a rite does not need to be followed by an event in the myth and vice versa.

Consequently Otto means that the Egyptian rites and myths originally were separated from each other and during history they have been united, the rites have been mythologized. Moreover, the connection between a mythical picture and a particular god is very weak in Egypt. Otto also argues that an Egyptian rite in itself works out a similar event in the future but the mythologized rite works in the opposite direction, i.e. the text and the rite bring a primeval situation to the fore, make a recurring primeval situation or action present. He speaks about a "mythische Präzedenzfall" which is present in the mythologized rite.

Otto's theory concerning the relationships between myth and rite in Egypt has been questioned later but as far as we are concerned the theory is based on firm ground, i.e. that there was no close connection between myth and rite in Egypt, that a particular rite did not presuppose a particular mythology.[1] Is this ancient Egyptian excursio relevant for this analysis of ApocAd? At least it poses some new questions. The opportunities for a positive reception of the message in ApocAd cannot have been better than in Egypt. The Gnostic adaptability fits very well in the Egyptian relationships between myth and rite. Rites are often hard to kill. New movements hence often choose to change the meaning of the rites through new mythological material which they connect with the old rites rather than fight against them.

There is so far no reason to presume that this was the case when ApocAd was introduced into Egyptian culture. But we may say that the Egyptian relationships between myth and rite have not been any obstacle concerning possible Gnostic attempts to connect ApocAd to ancient Egyptian rites or structures of mythological texts. It is of course impossible to maintain that ApocAd has been connected to a complete ancient Egyptian rite, but it might be concluded:

1. That the hymnic section and the conclusion of ApocAd through their metrical form and the fact that they have been sung indicate that ApocAd belongs in a cultic, or a dramatic context.

2. This cultic context might be of Egyptian origin because of the Egyptian tradition concerning the relationships between myth and rite and the Gnostic adaptability.

[1] Cf. Otto, E. Das Verhältnis von Rite und Mythus im Ägyptischen.
Erman, A. Die Religion der Ägypter.

3. That ApocAd in its older Greek version was bound to a non-Egyptian cultic context and that the cultic context and mythology was transferred to the native Egyptians as a unity seems to be less plausible if we consider Egyptian and Gnostic freedom concerning the relations between myth, rite, god and outlook on life.

Briefly: A comparative research within Egypt seems to be very urgent, and that fits very well in this starting point: to keep to the MS, the language and the content, and the place of the discovery.

Conclusion of Part III

It was showed in part I, the presentation of ApocAd, that ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic text which gives the water of life and the bath which is holy a most significant role. In part II it was shown that the hymnic section has been used in some sort of cult in its Coptic version and that the context of the hymn indicates that the whole ApocAd belongs to a baptismal cultic context.

It is now possible to go further: The conclusion of ApocAd has also been sung, which means that at least two sections in ApocAd have been sung. According to Erman this might indicate that ApocAd is a dramatic text, a drama. Even if it is impossible to draw such conclusions at this stage of research it must be admitted that Erman's analysis of Coptic poetry poses the question if ApocAd can be a dramatic text. The peculiar way of using the nomina sacra-line which is found in ApocAd might also be an indication of explaining scenes parallelly with the text.

The Coptic version of ApocAd is from ca. 300 A.D.. It is obviously older than GEgypt. It has been kept and used in a Coptic monastery before it was buried near by the Nile at Nag Hammadi. It is impossible to say if the Coptic monastery used the text in a cultic way, but it must be remembered that the conception of the oldest Coptic monasteries as bastions for what later on was called Orthodox Christianity is questioned.[1]

Finally there is Eberhard Otto's argument concerning the relationships between myth and rite in Egypt. In other words:

1. ApocAd, one of the oldest among the Nag Hammadi texts, has been used in a cultic context in its Coptic version at the same time as Christianity was spread in Upper Egypt and during the last phase of the ancient Egyptian religion.

[1] Concerning early Coptic Christianity and its relations to the so called Orthodox Christianity cf.
Atiya, A. A History of Eastern Christianity.
Bauer, W. Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Earliest Christianity.
Grant, R.M. Gnosticism and Early Christianity.
Ivanka, E., Tyciak, J., Wiertz, P. Handbuch der Ostkirchenkunde.
Wisse, F. Gnosticism and Early Monasticism in Egypt in Gnosis, Festschrift für Hans Jonas p. 431 etc..
Säve-Söderbergh, T. Holy Scriptures or Apologetic Documentations.

2. Erman's analysis of Coptic poetry poses the question: Is ApocAd a cultic dramatic text?

3. The emphasizing by Otto of the weak connection between myth and rite in Egypt might be an indication that the cultic context to which ApocAd belongs is Egyptian.

Consequently a comparative study within Egypt is most urgent in the further research of ApocAd.

IV COMPARATIVE RESEARCH WITHIN EGYPT

Religions in Egypt during the first centuries and at the time for the translation of ApocAd[1]

Before the problems of Egyptian translations and a comparative study of the structure in Egyptian dramatic texts and in ApocAd are approached it is of great value to make a brief survey of the situation in Egypt at the time for the translation of ApocAd. The Ptolemaic period was especially in religious matters a period of great national revival in Egypt. The religious centres as Thebes, Memphis and Bubastis were restored and new building projects were undertaken as at Dendera, Edfu and Philae. The elaborate rites of the old religion were carried on during this period. It was significant that all the ceremonial connected with the various cults was described in detail on the temple walls as will be seen in an example in the structural study of dramatic texts from the temples at Edfu, Dendera and Philae.

The population at large became more and more worshippers of a few favourite gods as Isis, Horus and Osiris. The cult of Osiris, the corn-god, the water-god and the god of life-in-death, became more and more dominating in Egypt. In Osiris centred all the ideas connected with the springing up of new life from decay and corruption. Around the end of the second century the knowledge of writing hieroglyphs decreased but some priests in the temples had a complete mastery of the art of writing. Osiris was still the god through whom immortality was to be obtained but Osiris and Serapis had been closely identified at this time. The ceremonies at Edfu and Philae were recalled rituals which had their origins in the first Egyptian dynasties. The Graeco-Roman cult of Osiris and Isis were culminating while the Egyptians especially in Upper Egypt still clung to their ancient beliefs.

At the same time, at the end of the second century, Christianity, already a flourishing institution appears in the history of Egypt and it had already spread as far south as Oxyrhynchus. Almost nothing is known about the history of Christianity in Egypt before 180 A.D. except that there is such a history. It is also known that there seems to have been little or no attempts to influence the non-Hellenic community. The natives were still uninfluenced by Hellenism and Christianity, and the gospels, canonical and uncanonical, were written in Greek. During the rapid growth of Christianity in the third century the old religion was still fairly vigorous and the cult of Osiris and Isis was just slightly influenced by Hellenism. But, of course, many converts to the new religion came from the old religion. The practice of mummifying their dead by the early Christians indicates an influence of the old religion's belief in a concrete continuation of life after death, in which the cult of Osiris was an

[1] Cf. Scott-Moncrieff, P.D. Paganism and Christianity in Egypt.

important part. It is natural to suppose that when the new faith began to replace the old, much of the outward character and symbolism should still be retained. An example is the persistence with which the Egyptian Christians clung to the use of their ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic of life ☥ as a form of the Christian cross.[1] The worship of ancient gods continued during the third century, at Philae until the sixth century.

The Bible was translated into Coptic and the translation was finished in about 300 A.D.. During this third century when Christianity was spread even among native Egyptians in Upper Egypt, the esoteric Christian movement made great headway in Egypt. Both these closely connected movements in Egypt had strong sacramental character. Harnack goes very far. He said: Pistis Sophia places before our eyes very clearly the pre-history of the catholic sacramental doctrine. There was also another movement during this third century which became of world wide importance. The ascetic movement which occurred among "orthodox" Christians, Gnostics, Hellenic influenced and native Egyptians. But it was the natives who carried out this way of life in its extremest degree and who under Pachom's rule organized a community of monks near Chenoboskion and Dendera.

As a conclusion of this short survey it might be said, that at the time for the translation of ApocAd from Greek into Coptic in Upper Egypt around 300 A.D. there was a degenerated but still living old pagan religion and cult, plus the Greek religion influenced by the old Egyptian religion, and the Christian-Gnostic movement as well as the ascetic movement. It was at this very time that Christianity and Gnosticism were spread also among native Egyptians and many of them joined the ascetic movement. This is important to bear in mind when comparing texts from pagan cult with ApocAd. At the time of the translation many people in the Gnostic movement in Upper Egypt must have had knowledge of the pagan and Christian cult, in Coptic and in Greek as well. It was in this extremely mixed world ApocAd was transmitted and translated from Greek into the Egyptian language.

Egyptian influence on the structure of ApocAd

The purpose of the comparative study within Egypt is to consider if there are any signs of an Egyptian influence on ApocAd, whether the cultic context of ApocAd is Egyptian. Briefly, has ApocAd passed an Egyptian structural adaption? If the Greek version of ApocAd was written in Egypt, which is possible but not certain, nothing hindered that the author adopted an Egyptian structure of the text but kept the mythology and soteriology of the foreign Gnostic movement. But on the other hand, if the Greek ApocAd was not written in Egypt, but yet has an Egyptian structure, it is only when it was translated from Greek into

[1] Cf. Cramer, M. Das Altägyptische Lebenzeiche in Christlichen (Koptischer) Ägypten.

Coptic, or during the time the Coptic version was used that it could have adopted an Egyptian structure. The first of these two possibilities is most likely but we cannot exclude the second alternative which however needs some further consideration.

Translations of poetry from Greek into Coptic have already been discussed and the fact that a translator had great freedom emphasized, so great that he must have been an independent poet. A Coptic hymn is consequently never a copy of the Greek original. The Greek hymn is, according to Junker, almost a source of inspiration for the Coptic poet and translator. Let us now consider the Egyptian tradition concerning translations of prosaic texts which can be relevant for the translation of ApocAd because of the early dating of ApocAd.[1]

1. First of all there is a great deal of uncertainty in the Egyptian language. At the risk of being misunderstood one might say that the Egyptian language lacks for example Greek means of expression, way of specification. This uncertainty is also present in Coptic, but is more apparent in Egyptian. This linguistic uncertainty in Egyptian translations implies a lot of opportunities for variations and is certainly one of the reasons to the free Egyptian translating tradition.

2. Another factor of uncertainty in Egyptian texts which is also met in the Coptic Nag Hammadi library is the frequency of scribal errors. According to Adolf Erman this is the result not only of the carelessness of the scribes but also of their lack of education. Hermann Junker suggested that the issue is more complicated. Some "scribal errors" in "Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien" are impossible to understand. For example the change of with or with , especially as these signs also are very different in hieratic and demotic. These "scribal errors" are sometimes difficult to identify. They may be an unknown variation of the language which the scribe has used, sometimes a dialectal variation.[2] The same problem is met within the Nag Hammadi library. It is tempting to consider a peculiar way of writing as a scribal error so that the text becomes comprehensible. Briefly: The so called "scribal errors" are a factor of uncertainty in translations of Egyptian literature into modern languages but they are also a source of uncertainty in Egyptian literature.

3. Finally the confusion of the numerous Egyptian signs is to be considered. Parallel texts are written rather differently. A scribe had consequently several possibilities of expressing what he wanted. Through the great number of signs and ways of expression the translator was extremely free in his translation.[3]

These three factors are certainly contributory causes to the free Egyptian way of translating which means that the translator first of all

[1] Cf. Leipoldt, J. und Morenz, S. Heilige Schriften.

[2] Cf. Junker, H. Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien.

[3] Cf. Gardiner, A. Egyptian Grammar.

tried to understand the content of the text, and then it was possible to begin with the translation, a translation which had little or nothing to do with our modern faithful translations word by word.The method implies of course a great freedom for the translator, but on the other hand there is a method which means a literal rendering of for example Greek technical terms (cp. Greek loanwords in for example the Nag Hammadi texts) and sentence-constructions. The mixing of translation methods make the Egyptian texts very difficult to understand and translate.[1] The ancient Egyptian free way of translating is also found to a considerable extent in Coptic. The texts in the Nag Hammadi library are sometimes so difficult to understand and translate that it cannot be explained by the fact that Coptic is less expressive than Greek or that the translator's knowledge of Greek was so bad that he hardly understood the text. The ancient Egyptian way of translating foreign texts might be the reason why Coptic texts sometimes are incomprehensible. The free Egyptian way of translating makes it plausible that the Coptic ApocAd is far removed from the Greek original, both the hymnic sections and the prosaic text, perhaps so far that it is possible to speak of a new text.

Consequently there are two possibilities of an Egyptian structural influence on ApocAd, first of all and most likely during the composition of the Greek ApocAd in Egypt. There is also a possibility that the structure of the text was changed during the translation or during the time the text was in use in Egypt. If this is the case it is "only" the mythology, the important words and the Gnostic outlook on life which are non-Egyptian. In other respects ApocAd could be an Egyptian text.

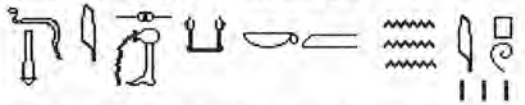
The Egyptian background of ϫωκϏ ϵτ ογϩϩϐ

The importance of the expressions ϫωκϏ ϵτ ογϩϩϐ and ϩγω Ϗϯϫϵ ϩϥϵι ϵϫϏ ⲡιⲙⲟⲟγ in ApocAd has been emphasized again and again in this thesis. The significance of water generally has also been stressed. In spite of that it seems necessary to return to this most essential theme once more.

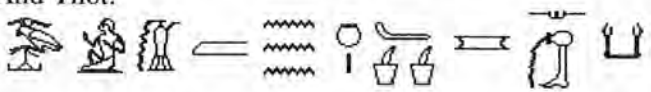
Bath or purification in water is not an unknown phenomenon in the ancient Egyptian cult. It had obviously an important function for example at Phile. In the eastern colonnade of the House of Birth, nearest the entrance, there is an ornamentation where Thot and Horus are standing at each side of the king pouring the water of the vessels of libation over him. From the vessels are signs of ☥, flowing over the king mixed with 𓃡, heads of Seth, here probably meaning death and corruption.

[1] The issue is considered by Wilhelm Spiegelberg in "Des Verhältnis des Griechischen und Ägyptischen texte in den Zweisprachigen Dekreten von Rosette und Kanopus". Papyrusinstitute. Heidelberg 1922.

Horus says among other things:



Words spoken: I purify your ka in this water.
And Thot:



I inundate the vessel of libation with the water of the river's inundation. I purify your ka.[1]

And Hathor is purified at her arrival to Phile when she came to Egypt from Bwgm:

She purified her limbs at the pure island.

This must have happened before she entered the entrance hall in the Hathor temple of Phile where she met her father Re and the hymn was sung:

[1] Cf. Junker, H. und Winter, E. Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä.

Your face is beautiful
you are pleased in your heart
when you appear in splendour.

Your father Re jubilates at your appearance.

Your brother Shu jubilates before your face.

Thot calls on the sovereign close to her ear.

The great ennead jubilates
when the protecting lotus comes.

The sacred baboons are in your presence
at your majesty's dance.

Biting the skin
of your ka's tambourine.

You great Djeded,
you ba in Bwgm.

The mistress of the sistrum,
the mistress of the necklace.[1]

The ancient Egyptian bath of purification exemplified here was described with the word wʿb. The word has survived in Coptic:**ογοπ** and means here to be clean. The Greek synonymous is ἅγιος. **ογηηβ** consequently means priest, Christian or pagan and was written or in ancient Egyptian. In Demotic .

This word is extremely important in ApocAd, where there is an identity between Seth, gnosis, the name, they who have gnosis and **ϫωκϩ ετ ογϩϩβ**, the bath which is holy (**ογϩϩβ** is Sahidic and Subachmimic of **ογοπ**). This holy bath is the Gnostic baptism. It is remarkable that the author of ApocAd and of NHC IV.2 use the word wʿb, to define the bath. There were alternatives which were suitable and not so saddled as wʿb. First of all we have **ωμϲ**(=βάπτισμα) which is a Semitic loanword and which NHC IV.2 alternate with **ϫωκϩ ετ ογϩϩβ** where NHC III.2 has βάπτισμα.

Instead of βάπτισμα and **ωμϲ** the author of ApocAd chose a word which for all native Egyptians at the time of the origin of the Coptic ApocAd was associated with the ancient Egyptian cult, still prevalent in Upper Egypt. The author of our text must have known this but he still considered that this word with all its meanings and allusions best corresponded to the act by which a person received gnosis, washed away the old desire (cf. Hathor who after her bath enters her temple without desire to meet her father Re) and reached identity with Seth. It becomes more remarkable if we consider that the community which used ApocAd as a holy book during the fourth century probably had good knowledge of the ancient Egyptian meaning of the word.

With this note about the word wʿb I want to emphasize the importance of studying the ancient Egyptian mythology and cult if we want to understand the early Coptic Gnostic literature. The ancient Egyptian background of the early Coptic literature is of considerable value in understanding the function and meaning of for example ApocAd.

Concerning dramatic cult in Egypt generally

Holy scriptures in Egypt were primarily intended for temples and funeral ceremonies. This is also the case with the Coptic translation of biblical literature and the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book. It is possible that ApocAd belongs to this tradition where temple and holy scripture are

[1] Cf. Junker, H. Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien.

intimately connected with each other. The connection was so close that the holy scripture was preserved in the temple, close to the place of the cult and the statue of the god (for example in Edfu and the Isis temple in Corinth), a tradition which is also found in Christian monasteries where the libraries (and the armarium) are near the Church.

Knowledge of how the Egyptian cult was performed is very limited. There are dramatic texts from different dynasties with a description of the cult parallelly with the text. In spite of that it is almost impossible to imagine how the cult or drama was performed. It is known, however, that Egyptian dramatic texts had a common structure which will be exemplified from different dynasties:

Clause 1. Describes what is happening in the scene of the drama.
Clause 2. Explains the inner meaning of the events of the scene.
Then there are one or several speeches which are sung.[1]
Finally sometimes one or several "stage directions".

An analysis by K. Sethe of a middle Egyptian dramatic text

In 1928 K. Sethe presented an analysis of the so-called dramatic Ramesseum-papayrus (RP), a manuscript found west of Thebes 1895-96. Gardiner dates it 12th or 13th dynasty.[2] This text has been chosen here because of the fact that it is almost certainly a dramatic text. There are many texts with a dramatic character, but the RP has a clear dramatic character. It is therefore suitable to use in order to illustrate the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts.

RP is a drama which was performed at the succession to the throne of Sesostris I. The old king is dead and the successor fits out his ship. The text is written with early hieratic signs, almost cursive hieroglyphs.[3] The drama contains 46 separate scenes and each scene has a fixed structure:

1. A description of what is happening. This part is often very short. The description contains an episode, an event which is the cultic action.

2. The event is given an explanation. First a divinity is mentioned and thereafter comes an act which explains the following.

3. The speech of a god, sometimes several, and each one of them is followed by number 4.

4. "Stage directions" (two or three).

I. A divine person is mentioned in connection with an act.

II. An earthly parallel to I.

III. A place, a concluding event and/or persons outside the drama are mentioned. The "stage directions" are separated from each other by a

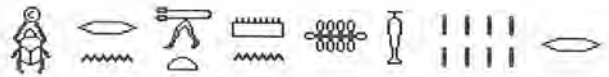
[1] Cf. Leipoldt, J. und Morenz, S. Heilige Schriften.

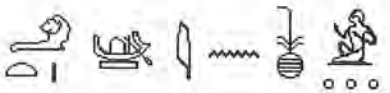
[2] Cf. Sethe, K. Dramatische Texte zu Altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen.

[3] Cf. Gardiner, A. The Ramesseum Papyri (especially "Hymns to Sobk).
Müller, G. Hieratische Paläographie.

horizontal line. Scene 2 can be taken as an example. It is quite free from lacunae.

Scene 2 of the dramatic Ramesseum-papyrus:

1. 



2.

3.

4.

3.

4.

1. The scene begins with ḫpr, happen, become, come into existence (Coptic ϣωπε). All the scenes in RP begin in this way.The text runs: "It happened that eight mnsꜣ-jars were taken to the front of the ship by the descendants of the king". This is consequently what happens in this scene.

2. The explaining sentence always begins with pw (demonstrative), to be translated "that is" or "that means". The text runs: "It is Thot, Osiris on the back of Seth, to raise him" or in a free translation: "It is Toth who placed Osiris on the back of Seth in order to raise him".

3. The divine speech which always has ḏd as introduction, i.e. the Coptic ϫω. The text runs: "Thot (to) Seth says: You cannot hold out under (the one who is) greater than you".

4. After the divine speech follows the "stage directions". In the first a divinity is mentioned and here it is Osiris.In the second there is usually an earthly parallel to the first, but in this scene the text is unfortunately damaged. What remains is only: "the elders' payment ...".

3. Then there is another divine speech which is introduced with ḏd. The text runs: " Thot (to) Osiris says: His heart shall not (receive) a libation (there) under".

4. Finally it follows "stage directions". The first: "Seth". The second may be: " elder go to libation" but the text is badly damaged here.[1]

This brief presentation of a scene in RP is sufficient to illustrate the structure of RP. It is clear that the pattern is the same as was established from dramatic cults in general in the chapter "About dramatic cult in Egypt generally". A text, ca. 1500 years later than RP, might still more illustrate the structure of ancient Egyptian cultic dramatic texts.

Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien

The text is from the temples in Edfu, Dendera and Philae.[2] The whole text is not available. We have only the sections which were used as decorations on the temple walls at the place where the vigil over Osiris was held. It is evident that this cult has been performed in Egypt before, during and after the time ApocAd was translated into Coptic because of the fact that it also was performed in Phile, a fact which might have some

[1] Concerning etymological facts cf.:
Cerny, J. Coptic Etymological Dictionary.
Crum, W.E. A Coptic Dictionary.
Gardiner, A. Egyptian Grammar.

[2] Cf. Junker, H. Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien.

significance for the understanding of ApocAd.The drama is divided in 24 hours. Each hour has a common structure:

1. The hour is described.
2. The divinity is mentioned (i.e. the god who has the duty to watch over Osiris at this hour).
3. Speech.
4. More speeches.
5. Lamentation.

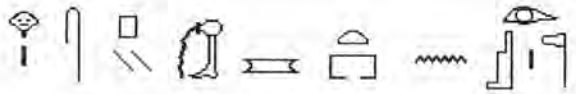
This structure is accompanied by pictures illustrating what could be closely connected with the rite:

1. The protecting god.
2. The action of the hour, usually gifts being brought to Osiris.
3. A goddess or Horus.
4. During the day: mourners
   At night: libation or incense.

The third hour of the night might serve as an example.

The third hour of the night in "Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien" (SO):

1.



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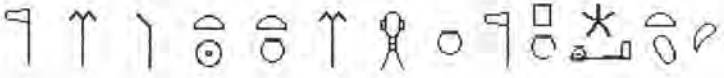

3.

1. Each hour is introduced by wn, which express existence. The text runs: "The third hour of the night".

Then is the hour, the scene, explained which is introduced by pw, "that is" as in RP. The text continues: "It is the hour Horus (and) Thot enter for the temple-purification of Osiris".

2. The protecting god of the hour is mentioned: "The protecting god this hour, (who) protects the god (is) Duamutef".

3. Then follows the speech which as in RP always is introduced by dd. The text runs: "The third libation is spilled by the priest, saying:". Thereafter follows a long speech.

Parallels between RP and SO

The structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic cults is clear. The two texts which are separated by 1500 years have a common structure:

1. In RP there is the introduction of a narrative section which describes something which has happened, an event which at the same time is the cultic action of the scene. In SO there is the introduction of a description of what is happening at this hour. The introduction in both these texts consequently describes the cultic event in the scene.

2. An explanation of the continuation of the scene follows in RP. This part is introduced by mentioning a divinity and then the action of this divinity follows. The text begins with pw. In SO this pw comes a little earlier, after the hour has been described. After the description the protecting god who will watch over Osiris at this hour is mentioned.

3. Then the speech follows both in RP and SO and it is introduced by dd. In SO the speech is often connected with a libation, incense or ointment.

4. Finally RP gives the "stage directions" where a divine person and his action is mentioned, further an earthly parallel to the divine action and finally a concluding action. In SO there are often mourners coming forth, sometimes Isis and Nephthys.

There are consequently two Egyptian cultic dramas, separated in time and content. In spite of that they have a common structure, i.e. they are divided into short scenes and each scene has a common structure. It is obviously that there is a common long-lived structure in ancient Egyptian cultic dramatic texts. It is also certain that this structure was used in the cult before, during and after the coming into being of the Coptic version of ApocAd. Is there any influence of this structure in ApocAd which could be the case if the Greek original was written in Egypt? Or is it possible that ApocAd was translated in a classical Egyptian manner, i.e. very freely, and that the translation was given the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts? If this is the case ApocAd is mainly an Egyptian text, and the dramatic structure would also indicate that ApocAd is a

dramatic cultic text. But such a structure in ApocAd is not final evidence. There is also a possibility that the translator used a dramatic structure without any thought of dramatic performance of ApocAd.

"Tote" in ApocAd

In part II concerning the hymnic section it was shown that the Greek word τότε is used in the Nag Hammadi texts to separate different sections of the texts. F. Wisse has pointed out this function of the word. In GEgypt for example it is obvious that τότε has this function, i.e. to separate large prosaic sections of the text. In ApocAd however the function of the word is another. The fact that the word occurs 20 times in 14 Coptic pages indicates that. Moreover τότε often occurs at such short intervals as one or a few sentences. At the same time it retains its function of separating different sections of the text. After τότε something quite new always follows. For example 70:4: "Then (τότε) all the people of the flesh will be left in the waters. Then (τότε) the god will rest from his anger". It is obviously not a question of separating prosaic sections. The separated sections are simply so short that it cannot be a question of ordinary prose.

The reason why the peculiar way of using τότε in ApocAd is mentioned here is that it might be explained by that the text is not prosaic but dramatic and cultic. A dramatic Egyptian text demands separations with short intervals. In any case the use of τότε in the Nag Hammadi texts in general and ApocAd especially calls for further attention, but one cannot ignore the narrative character of the text beside the cultic dramatic character which I emphasize. In Egyptian narrative texts there are often stereotyped repeated verbal constructions in which for example ḥpr and wn can be included. An often repeated τότε is not enough to define the form of the text. This issue is dependent upon the content of the text. In the following structural analysis of ApocAd however, it is indicated that the content of the sentence or sentences which follow the 1 - 3 τότε after each speech is a sign of a common structure in the text which reminds of a dramatic structure.

The structure of ApocAd

The question is if it is possible to find the typical ancient Egyptian dramatic structure in ApocAd. An analysis of plausible scenes in ApocAd might help to answer this question. It is necessary to remember that ApocAd is a Coptic text. The immense concentration of the content which is significant in the ancient Egyptian dramatic texts is at least to some extent caused by the ancient Egyptian language and is not necessary in a Coptic text. Coptic is a more differentiated language than the ancient Egyptian language.

The structure which is sought is:

1. Introductory narrative.
2. Explanation to the scene. One or several divinities are mentioned and an act is performed which explains what follows in the scene. In Egyptian texts this part is introduced by pw.
3. Speech. In Egyptian texts introduced by ḏd (Coptic ϫω).
4. "Stage directions". I. Mention of gods and their spiritual actions. II. An earthly parallel or response to I. III. Sometimes a conclusion of the scene.
3. Further speeches may follow and thereafter "stage directions".

I. 65:22-67:14

1. "And after that we were in the darkness or our heart. And I slept in the thought of my heart".

Commentary: This might be an introduction to a scene.

2. "For I saw three men before my face whose likeness I could not know, since they were not from the powers of the god who had created us. They passed through [ ]".

Commentary: Three men are mentioned. A possible parallel is the divine revelation to Abraham in Mamre. It is plausible that the ancient Egyptian dramatic components are present here: The divine persons are mentioned and their action explains what follows in the scene, i.e. they pass down to Adam and Eve in order to give them the revelation.

3. "And [ ] men [ ] they said to me: Arise, Adam from the sleep of death and hear about the aeon and the seed of that man to whom the life has come, who came from you and Eve your wife".

Commentary: The speech of the divine persons is introduced by ϫω ⲏⲙⲟⲥ, i.e. the Egyptian ḏd, which also introduces the speeches in the Egyptian dramatic texts.

4. I. "When (τότε) I had heard these words from the great men who were standing before me, II. then (τότε) we sighed, I together with Eve, in our heart."

Commentary. This might be two "stage directions" separated by the Greek τότε. In the first the divine men are mentioned and their action. In the second Adam and Eve sighed in their heart, i.e. an earthly response to the first "spiritual experience".

3. "And the lord, the god who had created us, stood before our faces. He said to us: Adam, why were you sighing in your heart? Do you not know that I am the god who created you. And I breathed into you a spirit of life in a living soul".

Commentary: The second speech is also introduced by ϫω.

4. I."Then (τότε) darkness came upon our eyes. II. Then (τότε) the god who had created us created a son from himself together with Eve your mother [ ] in the [ ] the thought [ ] my [ ] I knew a sweet desire for your mother. III. Then (τότε) the vigour of our

eternal knowledge was destroyed in us and weakness pursued us. Therefore the days of our life were made few. For I understood that I had come under the power of death".

Commentary: Here follows three "stage directions" separated by the Greek τότε. I. Darkness came upon the eyes of Adam and Eve, i.e. the spiritual event. II. God created a son and Adam knew a sweet desire for Eve, i.e. the earthly response/parallel. III. Adam came under the power of death, which is the conclusion of the whole scene.

Is this an ancient Egyptian dramatic structure?

II. 76:8-77:26

1. "Once again, for the third time, the illuminator of knowledge will pass in great glory, to give to the seed of Noah and the sons of Ham and Japheth, to give it fruitbearing trees. And he will redeem their souls from the day of death".

2. "For all that which is moulded which has come from the dead earth, will be under the power of death. But those who think of the knowledge of the eternal god in their heart will not perish. For they have not received spirit from this kingdom only but they have received from an [ ] eternal angels [ ] illuminator [ ] come upon [ ] dead [ ] of Seth. And he will do signs and wonders to dishonour the powers of their sovereigns".

Commentary: After the introductory events where the illuminator gives fruitbearing trees to the seed of Noah and to the sons of Ham and Japheth the divine persons are mentioned: the angels, the illuminator and Seth. The action in the scene, i.e. Seth dishonours the powers, explains what follows: the god of the powers punishes the illuminator, the flesh of the heavenly Seth. Consequently the ancient Egyptian dramatic components are present. There is an introductory narrative. The divine persons are mentioned and their actions explain what follows in the scene. Then follows the speech.

3. Then (τότε) he will be worried, the god of the powers, saying: What is the power of the man who is higher than ours".

Commentary: The speech of the god is introduced by ϫω.

4. I. Then (τότε) he will arouse a great wrath against that man. And the glory will leave, it will dwell in holy houses, those which it has chosen. And the powers will not see it with their eyes, nor will they see the other illuminator". II. "Then (τότε) they will punish the flesh of the man, he who the holy spirit has come upon". III. "Then (τότε) the angels and all the generations of the powers will consult the name in error saying: From where has it become, or where did the words of falsity come from which all the powers have failed to find".

Commentary: The first τότε is followed by a spiritual event, i.e. the glory will leave. The second is followed by an earthly parallel, i.e. the flesh of the man will be punished. The third and last τότε is followed by

the conclusion of the section/scene, i.e. the powers ask where the illuminator came from and then follows the large hymnic section with the answers of the kingdoms. After the hymnic section there are no other sections with this pattern, instead there are two concluding monologues which are followed by the conclusion of the whole apocalypse.

If the story of the flood has the same structure as these both examples is more uncertain because of the lacunae. In spite of that it is necessary to analyse the structure of this part of the text to see if it is possible to find signs of the ancient Egyptian dramatic structure. Because of the blank page 68 the beginning of this part of the text is uncertain. It is plausible that a new scene begins with 69:2.

III. 69:2-70:6 (71:26)

1. "For the rainwater of the god the almighty will be spilled to destroy all flesh from the earth through this which it seeks after, with those from the seed of the men to whom life of the knowledge were given. This which came from me and Eve your mother".

Commentary: This might be the introduction or a part of the introduction to the scene where it is described what is happening in the scene.

2. "For they were strangers to him. After this great angels will come on high clouds. They will take those men to the place where the spirit of life dwells [ ]".

Commentary: Here divine persons are mentioned, i.e. the angels and the spirit of life, and their action is the cause of what follows.

3. The speech might be in the lacuna.

4. It is uncertain but possible that 70:3 begins with τότε and that the lacuna in line 4 also contains the word τότε. If this is the case the scene continues: I. "Then (τότε) [ ] come from heaven to earth". II."Then (τότε) all the people of flesh will be left in the waters". III. "Then (τότε) the god will rest from his anger and he will throw his power upon the waters. And he will give the powers to his sons together with their woman through the box, together with the cattle which he liked, together with the birds of heaven which he called. He released them upon the earth".

Commentary: The first "stage direction" describes a spiritual event, something comes from heaven to earth. The second an earthly response/parallel, i.e. all the people will be left in the waters. And the third is a conclusion of this part of the scene, the god will rest from his anger etc..

3. "And the god will say to Noah, whom the generations will call Deucalion: Behold, I have protected (you) in the box together with your woman, your sons, their women, their cattle and the birds of heaven

which you called and released upon the earth. Therefore I will give the earth to you and your sons. You will reign over it as kings, you and your sons. And no seed of the men who will not step into the presence of my face in another glory will come from you".

Commentary: A second speech in this section is followed by one "stage direction" and a dialogue between god the creator and Noah.

4. "Then (τότε) they will become as the cloud of the great light. Those men will come who have been thrown away from the knowledge of the great aeons and the angels. They will step into the presence of Noah and the aeons".

3. "And the god will say to Noah: Why have you turned away from what I told you? You have created another generation so that you can bring disgrace on my power".

3. "Then (τότε) Noah will say: I will testify in the presence of your wing that the generation of these men did not come into existence through me, nor through my sons [ ]".

IV. 72:1-74:2

The scene begins in a lacuna.

1. "[ ] knowledge [ ] those men to bring them into their land which is worthy and build them their holy dwelling place. And they will be called by the name which is there and they will be there six hundred years in a knowledge of incorruption".

Commentary: This might be the introduction to this scene, i.e. those men are brought to a holy place and receive the name.

2. "And angels of the great light will be there. No disgusting deeds will be in their heart, only the knowledge of the god. Then Noah will divide the whole earth among his sons Ham, Japheth and Shem".

Commentary: This might be the explanatory part of the scene. Divinities are mentioned, i.e. the angels of the great light. The division of the earth explains the rest of the scene.

3. "He will say to them: My sons, hear my words. Behold, I have divided the earth among you, but serve him in fear and slavery all the days of your life. Do not let your seed turn away from the face of the god the almighty [ ] I and[ ] your [ ] son of Noah: [ ] seed will please in your presence and in the presence of your power. Seal it with your hand which is strong in fear and commandment, so that all the seed which came from me may not turn away from you and the god the almighty but serve in humility and fear of their knowledge".

Commentary: There are some lacunae in the speech and it is therefore uncertain if it is an entirety.

4. I. Then (τότε) others from the seed of Ham and Japheth will go, namely four hundred men. They will enter into another country, they will settle down with those men who have come from the great eternal knowledge, so that the shadow of their power will protect those who have

settled down with them from every bad thing and every desire which is unclean". II. Then (τότε) the seed of Ham an Japheth will establish twelve kingdoms. And their other seed will enter into the kingdom of another people". III. Then (τότε) [ ] will consider[ ] aeons to [ ] who are dead of the great aeons of incorruption.

V. 74:3-76:7

1. "And they will go to Sakla their god".

2. "They will enter the powers, accusing the great men, those who are in their glory".

3. "They will say to Sakla: What is the power of these men who stood in your presence, those who were taken from the seed of Ham and Japheth, who will be four hundred men? They have been received in another aeon from which they became. And they have converted all the glory of your power and the kingdoms of your hand. For the seed of Noah has done all your will through his son together with all the powers in the aeons which your power reigns over. Those men and those who have settled down in their glory have not done as you wanted. But they have gone away from all your people".

4. I. Then (τότε) the god of the aeons will give them those who serve him [ ]. They will come upon that land in which the great men will be, those who have not been defiled, nor will be defiled by any desire. For the soul has not become from a defiled hand, but it became from a great commandment of an eternal angel". II. Then (τότε) fire, sulphur and asphalt will be cast upon these men. And fire together with mist will come over those aeons. The eyes of the powers of the illuminators will be darkened, the aeons will not see with them in those days".

Commentary: The last "stage direction" continues with a long conclusion of the whole story of the flood.

ApocAd has a quite different structure from this Egyptian dramatic perspective than it has if it is considered as a prosaic text.

The introduction 64:1-65:21

The introduction has almost the same structure as the other sections of the apocalypse:

1. "The Apocalypse of Adam. The revelation which Adam taught his son Seth in the seven hundredth year".

3. "Saying: Listen to my words my son Seth. When the god had created me of the earth with Eve your mother, I lived with her in a glory that she had seen in the aeon from which we had become. She taught me a word of knowledge of the eternal god. And we resembled the great

eternal angels for we were higher than the god who had created us and the powers who were with him, whom we did not know".

4. I. Then (τότε) the god, the sovereign of the aeons together with the powers, decided us in wrath. II. Then (τότε) we became two aeons, and the glory in our heart left us, me and your mother Eve along with the first knowledge that breathed in us. And it fled from us, it entered into great [ ] the great generation [ ] which had not become from this aeon from which we became, I with Eve your mother. But it entered into the seed of great aeons. Because of this, I myself have called you by the name of that man who is the seed of the great generation or rather is from him. After those days the eternal knowledge of the god of truth withdrew from me and your mother Eve. Since that time we received wisdom about dead things like men. III. Then (τότε) we recognized the god who had created us. For we were not strangers to his powers. And we served him in fear and slavery".

Commentary: The structure is almost the same as can be find in the other "scenes". First there is an introduction and a speech. Finally three τότε which we here call "stage directions": In the first is a god and his spiritual act mentioned. In the second is an earthly parallel or consequence mentioned and the third is a conclusion of the scene, the consequence of what happened in the scene.

The dramatic structure of ApocAd:

64:1-65:21	Introduction to the apocalypse.
65:22-67:14	The first dramatic scene.
67:14-?	Introduction to the second dramatic scene. Page 68 is however blank.
The story of the flood 69:1-76:7	
69:1-70:6 (71:26)	The third dramatic scene with the dialogue between the god the creator and Noah.
72:1-74:2	The fourth dramatic scene.
74:3-76:7	The fifth dramatic scene with the conclusion of the story of the flood.
76:8-77:26	The sixth dramatic scene.
77:27-83:4	The hymnic section.
83:4-84:3	The lamentation of the people. (According to ancient Egyptian tradition lamentations in the cultic dramas were sung by a choir.)
84:4-85:18	The Voice speaks to the people.
85:19-32	Hymnic conclusion of the whole apocalypse.

Conclusion of Part IV

The possibility that ApocAd (the text, poetry and structure) is a genuine Egyptian text has been considered in this concluding part of the thesis. It is most likely that the text received its Egyptian character during the composition of the Greek original in Egypt but the possibility that ApocAd is a part of the classical Egyptian translation tradition has also been considered. The text, poetry and structure are according to this hypothesis genuine Egyptian. The mythology, the important words and the Gnostic content are however non-Egyptian.

The structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts has also been considered and the fact that this structure was used in the cult in Egyptian temples when ApocAd was translated into Coptic has been emphasized. This ancient Egyptian dramatic structure might be applicable to ApocAd. The function of the Greek word τότε indicates a division of the text which coincides with the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. The question is consequently if ApocAd is a Gnostic Coptic baptismal cult-drama.

When the Nag Hammadi texts were found many scholars hoped to gain insight into the Egyptian Gnostic cult. The way of analysing the text which is indicated in part IV makes it possible to form an idea of the cult which might be behind the text. From the Egyptian background it is known which section of the dramatic text which contains the rite, i.e which text is recited when the ritual is performed.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this analysis of ApocAd was mentioned in the introduction: to consider the function of ApocAd in Egypt because it is only in Egypt that the text has been used with certainty. Everything else is speculation, and it is from the function of the text it might become comprehensible. In order to throw light on the text the MS, the Coptic language, the content and the Egyptian background is considered. The starting points have been limited to these certain facts in order to concentrate the discussion on the conclusion.

The translation and the important words show with certainty that ApocAd is a Gnostic text. They who have gnosis are the seed of Seth. There is certainly identity between the seed - the generation - the name and Seth.[1] Gnosis and the name are received through the bath which is holy which is ApocAd according to the conclusion of the apocalypse. These certain conclusions place the text in a kind of baptismal context. So far we cannot say if this context is cultic or not but the content of the text poses this question. Neither the peculiar relation of ApocAd to Genesis, nor the allusions to the New Testament, throw any light on this issue.

ApocAd was translated from Greek into Coptic ca. 300 A.D.. Consequently the text in the MS from ca. 375 A.D. had not been transmitted in its Coptic version for long. The hymnic section is certainly in metrical form. Consequently it was sung. This poetry might be the oldest Coptic poetry we know, the utmost link between Coptic and ancient Egyptian poetry. Because of the metrical form of the hymn it is certain that the hymn had a cultic function in its Coptic version. The Gnostic ApocAd has consequently quite certainly been used in a baptismal cult in Egypt in the fourth century A.D.. The punctuation and the sign ⊤ also indicate a metrical form of the hymn and that it was sung. The hymn and the conclusion are consequently the most important parts of the text

According to Adolf Erman prosaic texts with sections of poetry are probable dramatic texts. This has been questioned, but the mixing of prose and poetry confirm the conclusion that ApocAd has had a cultic function in Egypt. It might also be said that the work by Erman at the turn of the century, concerning Coptic poetry and prose, makes the question as to whether ApocAd is a dramatic baptismal cultic text, to one of the most important issues in the study of the Nag Hammadi texts. The use of nomina sacra lines is also a fact which indicates that the text had a cultic function.

The brief comparison between ApocAd and GEgypt shows that ApocAd is an early text in the Nag Hammadi chronology. Probably so early that it coexisted with the christianizing of Upper Egypt and with the last phase of the ancient Egyptian religion. All this is perhaps a weak indication that ApocAd is an Egyptian baptismal dramatic and cultic text,

[1] Cf. Schenke, H.-M. Das Sethianische System nach Nag Hammadi Handschriften.

but it makes it necessary to consider the Egyptian background and to look for Egyptian dramatic signs in the text.

The relationship between myth and rite in Egypt was no obstacle concerning possible Gnostic attempts to connect ApocAd to ancient Egyptian rites or structures of dramatic texts. The weak connection between myth and rite and between mythological picture and a particular god is in itself no reason to presume that ApocAd has been connected to ancient Egyptian rites but it indicates that nothing concerning the relationship between myth and rite has hindered such close connection. The opportunities for a positive reception of the message in ApocAd cannot have been better than in Egypt. The Gnostic adaptability fits very well in the Egyptian relationship between myth and rite. There were no obstacles to a connection between ApocAd and ancient Egyptian dramatic structures.

The free Egyptian tradition of translations, first of all concerning poetry but also prosaic texts, makes it very plausible that the translation of ApocAd from Greek into Coptic was very free. It is possible that ApocAd received its Egyptian character from this translation or during the time it was used, but it is more likely that the text had this Egyptian character at the time of the composition of the Greek original in Egypt. The Coptic ApocAd, as well as Coptic poetry, might be a genuine Egyptian text even if it has a Greek original.

In the concluding part of the thesis it has been shown that the Egyptian adaption of ApocAd also might have been structural. ApocAd seems to have an ancient Egyptian dramatic structure which Egyptian dramas had at the time for the translation of the text.[1] The analysis of the details of the structure makes it unlikely that the text is prosaic. The structure is very similar to the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. The text contains a long lamentation which also fits very well in a cultic dramatic pattern.

Briefly: ApocAd is a genuine Coptic Gnostic text from ca. 300 A.D. intended for a cultic function, a baptismal cultic function. Structurally the text is very similar to ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. It is consequently possible that ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic baptismal cultic drama whose purpose was to receive the divine gnosis (for the individual who received the name through the bath), or to give it to somebody (which was the task of the community, i.e. the bearer of gnosis, Seth).[2]

I have tried to show that it is unlikely that the purpose of ApocAd was only to illuminate the reader by reading the text. The detailed study of some parts of the text indicates that the way of illuminating was Egyptian, i.e. ritual. This is confirmed by signs of an ancient Egyptian structure of the text. The ancient Egyptian tradition was ritual and it is

[1] Cf. Bergman, J. Ich bin Isis as an example of free adaption of ancient Egyptian religious elements to a foreign culture/religion.

[2] Cf. The quotation of Thomas in the introduction.

probable that the "Sitz im Leben" of ApocAd is to be understood in this context.[1]

[1] Cf. Podemann Sørensen, J. Ancient Egyptian Thought and the XVIth Hermetic Tractate. Especially the conclusion of the article pp. 55-56.

CONCLUSION

After the summary it is high time to return to the starting point of this thesis. It was said in the introduction of the "Presentation of the text" that "we cannot say how or by whom the texts have been used" and further: "the purpose of this thesis is to study ApocAd only in view of these two facts (the MS and the place of discovery) and to suggest some conclusions from them to improve the understanding of the function, the Sitz im Leben of ApocAd in Upper Egypt". In what way can the conclusions in the thesis help us to answer these questions? In what way can the conclusion that the text belongs to a cultic context with a significant Egyptian character help us to understand the content of the text?

That the text had an illuminating function for the reader only through the reading of the text; that it was the text and only the text which supplied the reader with gnosis through some sort of mysterious illumination of the inner life when the text was read, is a very unegyptian way of transmitting knowledge, insight, life, power or whatever. The Egyptian way of transmitting is concrete and ritual. The cult demonstrates this and is that which is transmitted. But at the same time as the Egyptian way of transmitting is ritual, Egyptian rites also include mythological prototypes and these prototypes are present in the ritual, cultic, dramatic texts.

Realism is significant for Egyptian culture and this realism is also manifested in such an abstract matter as knowledge, even knowledge is an object. Egyptian knowledge is ritual knowledge. The mythology in the text leads to the essential cultic act which is the knowledge.

This fundamental Egyptian way of transmitting essential vital gifts helps us to understand ApocAd and how it was used, not in every detail, but in broad outline. And this understanding and insight is possible because it has been shown that ApocAd belongs to an Egyptian cultic dramatic baptismal context. The mythology of part A and B in ApocAd, i.e. the Adam and Noah mythology, has probably an Egyptian dramatic structure. It is this mythology which leads towards the essential cultic action which is an incarnation of the present mythology. The dramatic mythology leads to the hymn, the Adam and Noah mythology is a prototype of the ritual which must have taken place when the hymn with its repeated refrain which is a baptismal expression was sung. Consequently dramatic scenes do not occur after the hymnic section because their function in Egyptian cult is to lead towards the purpose of the cult, in this text i.e. the holy bath or baths. After the hymn follows a lamentation and the explanatory voice before the conclusion.

There is no sense in a detailed speculation about what was going on parallelly with the text. We have no reason to believe that a particular performance was prescribed. It could have been the text and not the rites

which gave the cult an established form. The illustration of the Adam and Noah mythology might have been very free. Perhaps it was not always necessary to illustrate the mythology in spite of the dramatic structure of the text. Much in the cult might have varied from time to time dependent upon those taking part and the place of the cult, but essential sections have probably been performed with great carefulness. First of all the holy bath during the hymnic section. During the hymn the candidate was moved closer and closer towards the light and finally he became one of the elected, completely free from desire.

It is out of the scope of this thesis to look for more specific Egyptian parallels, for example that the hymn in ApocAd is a parallel to the twelve hours of the night. It is possible to begin to see dawn already at the tenth hour, but the clear light of the sun is seen at the first hour of the day, the thirteenth kingdom in the hymn when the word is born. The diverging strophe 14 must in this pattern be a Gnostic extravagance. The gradually increasing knowledge in the strophes of the hymn might have the nightly journey of the sun in the Egyptian mythology as prototype. The content of the hymn is certainly not without Egyptian allusions, for example the father who desired his own daughter in strophe eleven.

Such speculations are not necessary here. It is enough to keep to the conclusion that the text has a cultic function and an Egyptian dramatic structure. The scenic sections in the Adam and Noah mythology leads towards the hymn and the holy bath in which man is purged from all dark desire and remembers his true origin, receives the name and becomes one of the elected. Out of this concrete Egyptian cultic perspective it is possible to reach a more complete understanding of ApocAd.

Let us finally return to the scenic sections which according to the Egyptian dramatic pattern lead the participants and the listeners towards the essential rite:

1. 64:1 - 65:21. An introduction which describes the true origin of man and how the knowledge concerning that origin was lost. How man came under the power of death.

2. 65:22 - 67:14. The revelation of three men. They reveal the true origin of man, but god the creator keeps man under his power.

3. 67:14 - . Adam gives the revelation of the three men to his son Seth.

4. 69:1 - 71:26. The rainwater is spilled to drown all flesh on earth together with everybody with gnosis. Noah and his sons receive the earth from god the creator.

5. 72:1 - 74:2. A generation builds a holy dwelling place in their country and Noah divides the whole earth among his sons. Some of the sons of Ham and Japheth move to the other country and settle down together with the great generation.

6. 74:3 - 76:7. The generation under the power of death complains to Sakla that some of the sons of Ham and Japheth have been received into another generation. Sakla tries to kill this generation with fire, asphalt and sulphur but Abrasax, Sablo and Gamaliel save them.

7. 76:8 - 77:26. The illuminator arrives to save man and the powers ask where the word came from.

When the participants have been led to this essential question the illumination through the strophes of the hymn and the holy bath begins.This is ApocAd together with the following lamentation and the explanatory voice according to ApocAd 85:19 etc..[1]

[1] Cf. Assman, J. Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. The way in which the hymn in ApocAd illuminates the participants, the listeners, in which it reveals the secret knowledge, reminds of how the ancient Egyptian hymns of the sun revealed the secret knowledge of the sun in the underworld.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Achmimic
A_2	Subachmimic
ApocAd	Apocalypse of Adam
B	Bohairic
F	Fayumic
Ge	Genesis
GEgypt	Gospel of the Egyptians
J	Yahvist tradition
MS	Manuscript
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
P	Priestly tradition
RP	The dramatic Ramesseum-papyrus
S	Sahidic
SO	Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien

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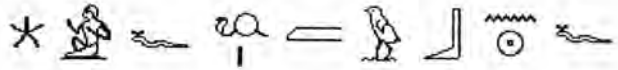
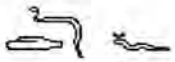
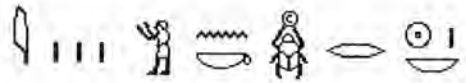
APPENDIX

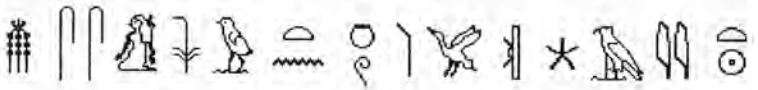
An example of ancient Egyptian metres is a hymn to Re from the end of Dyn. XVIII. (From the door-jamb of the tomb of king Haremhab, now in British Museum.)

1.

2. 

3. 

4. 

5. 

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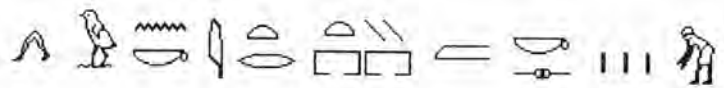
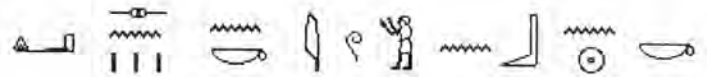
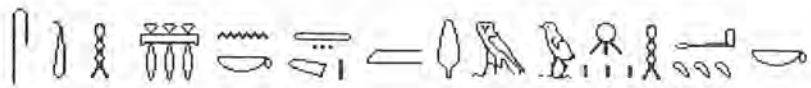
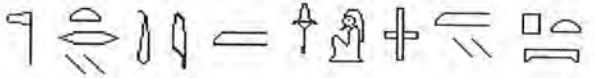
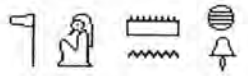
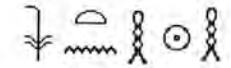
7. 

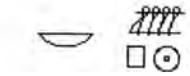
8. 

9. 

10. 

11. 

12. 

13. 

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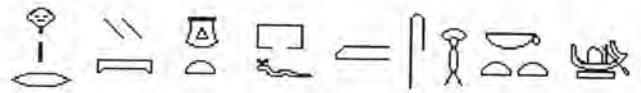
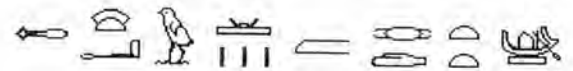
15. 

16. 

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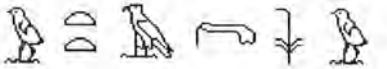
19. 

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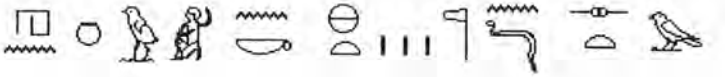
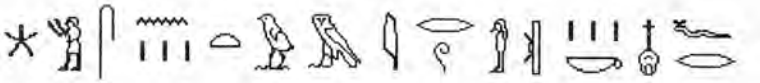
22. 

23. 

Translation:

1 Recitation of the words by prince Haremhab, justified.
2 He adores Re at his rising,
3 saying:
4 Praise to you who come into existence every day
5 who gives birth to yourself every morning
6 who comes from the womb of your mother without cessation
7 the two halves come to you in bowing
8 they give praise to you at your rising
9 you have made the land dazzling through the splendour of your body
10 you are divine as Sakhme which is in heaven
11 beneficent god
12 king of eternity
13 lord of light
14 sovereign of brightness
15 who is on his seat in the bark of dusk
16 great appearance in the bark of dawn
17 divine stripling
18 heir of eternity
19 who begot himself
20 who gives birth to himself
21 the great ennead adores you
22 the little ennead celebrates you
23 they adore you in your beautiful forms.

A metrical analysis of the hymn to Re:

1. ḏd--mdw--in..Ḥr-m-ḫb mꜣʿ-ḫrw
2. dwꜣ·f--Rʿ m--wbn·f
3. ḏd·f
4. iw--n·k ḫpr..rʿ--nb
5 mss--sw tnw..dwꜣyt
6. pr..m--ḥt--mwt·f nn--ꜣbw
7. iw--n·k..itrty m--ksw
8. di·sn--n·k--iw n--wbn·k
9. stḥn·n·k..m--iꜣmw--ḥʿw·k
10. ntry·ti..m--Sḫm imy--pt
11. nṯr mnḫ
12. nsw ḥḥ

13. nb šsp
14. ḥkꜣ ḥḏḏwt
15. ḥry--nst·f m--msktt
16. ʿꜣ--ḫʿw m--mʿjnḏt
17. ḫwn ntry
18. iwʿw ḥḥ
19. wtt sw
20. ms--sw ḏs·f
21. dwꜣ--tw psḏt--ʿꜣ
22. ḥnw--n·k psḏt..nḏst
23. dwꜣ·sn--tw m--irw·k..nfr

The metrical structure of this hymn to the sun is quite certain. After the introduction there are twenty verses with two or three beats. This part of the hymn is an example of the ancient Egyptian metre which we also find in the hymnic section of ApocAd. Consequently it is possible that the hymnic section of ApocAd has got its metre from ancient Egyptian hymns and not from the Greek original.

This hymn to the sun is also an example of the performative function of the ancient Egyptian hymns.[1] The hymnic section of ApocAd is to be understood in this ancient Egyptian performative tradition. The mythology in ApocAd and the hymn together with the cultic action give the listener communion with the community of Seth, of the name, with Seth himself and the participant in the dramatic event receives the life-giving gnosis.

[1] Cf. Assman, J. Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I.